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The American Scholar

PHI BETA KAPPA, the college honor society founded in 1776, precursor of all the Greek-letter societies in America, publishes THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR not only for members of ΦBK but for all who have general intellectual interests.

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"IGNORANCE is of a peculiar nature: once dispelled, it is impossible to re-establish it. It is not originally a thing of itself, but is only the absence of knowledge; and though man may be *kept* ignorant, he cannot be *made* ignorant. The mind, in discovering truth, acts in the same manner as it acts through the eye in discovering objects; when once any object has been seen, it is impossible to put the mind back to the same condition it was in before it saw it."

Rights of Man — THOMAS PAINE

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The American Scholar

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Quondam research chemist on rare sugars; biological chemist on research in nutrition for the United States Bureau of Dairy Industry; author of *Aren't Men Rascals? Fads, Frauds, and Physicians*, *The Degradation of Science*, *T.N.T.* (See also AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Spring, 1934.)

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The author suggests criteria other than incessant, and often trivial, research and publication as true symptoms of intellectual activity, and prefers the "teachers and free men" in our "intellectual graveyards" (*vide* the spring AMERICAN SCHOLAR) to the pedants or quack scholars frequently produced in our universities.

Received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1933, in the field of Anglo-Saxon Middle Ages; is now instructor in the department of English Language, University of Colorado.

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The miasmal epidemic of affectation and sentimentality, complacency and tears, brought on by a "mob of scribbling women" and saturating both authors and reviewers with a "virulent piety" destructive of probability and standards.

Has taught at Washington State College and Pennsylvania State College; is now assistant professor of English, Purdue University; has written informal essays, including "After Wordsworth" and "Mute Inglorious Miltons."

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Quondam professor of economics, the Universities of Heidelberg and Berlin; editor, the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*; member, the Socialization Commission; author, among other books, of *Die sozialen Organisationen*, *Zur Soziologie der Revolutionen*, and *Wege aus der Krise*; now dean of the "University in Exile," New York City.

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The "soliloquist" here traverses the various answers history has given to the question, "How may one lead the most contented life and resign oneself to the least reluctant death?"; and then constructs the modern's approach to an answer.

Professor of philosophy, University of Pennsylvania, since 1909; author, *Modern Thinkers and Present Problems*, *Mind as Behavior and Studies in Empirical Idealism*, *Fool's Advice*.

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Managing editor, *The Musician*, 1918–22; since 1931 editor of the music department, Weedon's *Modern Encyclopedia*; author of various books including *Our American Music* and his last one, *Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour*; composer of orchestral and choral music, piano music, songs. (See also AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Jan., 1933.)

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A comment on the obliteration of borderlines between mathematics, physics, and chemistry, and a prophecy concerning the increasing significance of chemistry in the fields of pure research and of science applied in such divergent fields as furniture-making, building and construction, engineering, and foodstuffs.

For some years chemist with commercial firms; chairman, 1919–22, of the division of research extension of the National Research Council; editor since 1921 of *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* (of which there are three editions, Industrial, News, and Analytical); author, among other books, of *The New Stone Age*.

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A suggestive study of the basically conflicting ideologies of the three types of religion in the modern western world—Christianity, communism, and nationalism—with special emphasis on today's division of loyalty in the German Church as furnishing hope that religion, by ceasing to give the sanction of the ultimate to the partial values affirmed in any political or historical movement, may "again become a fortress" against the "absolutism" of a society or state.

Pastor at Detroit, 1915–28; since 1928 professor at Union Theological Seminary; editor of *The World Tomorrow*; author, *Does Civilization Need Religion?*; *Leaves from the Notebook of a Tamed Cynic*; *Reflections on the End of an Era*; also of "The Germans: Unhappy Philosophers in Politics," in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR for October, 1933.

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NOTE.—Due to an unavoidable shift in plans, the publication of Richard A. Lester's article, "A Critique of Our Colleges," announced for this issue, has been postponed to the fall number.

NOTE.—Authors who wish manuscripts returned in case publication is not feasible should attach sufficient postage.

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"ECSTASY" ANALYZED!

Now that you are in possession of your own reaction to Maurice Sciaky's "Ecstasy" which appeared in the winter number, these few observations may give a slight push to the thinking and even acting which the article must have stimulated.

This is the only mystical experience I know of that comes away from its supreme vision of ultimate reality with a report so rational and negative. It demonstrates again the relativity of the mystic's visions—mystics usually experience what they expect to experience. Plotinus did. Christian mystics find Jesus or the Virgin; the mystic of India finds Nirvana or identity with Brahma. And thus Mr. Sciaky finds, what his intellect had already revealed to him, a transcendent world forever clothed in impenetrable mystery, an impassable gulf between himself and a reality independent of his consciousness. This is a vision of despair.

But Mr. Sciaky, like most who have traveled the mystic way, was looking for an absolute, not, it is true, to satisfy a religious yearning but to satisfy a demand of the mathematical mind. Perhaps his despair is due, not to what he assumes, man's inability to catch from his windowless solipsistic prison a vision of the cosmic reality, but to the probable fact that no absolute is there to behold. Perhaps we are not imprisoned at all but have lived so intimately with ultimate reality that we cannot believe that anything so familiar can be final. Hope comes when we put faith in intuitional and intellectual probability and resolutely put all absolutes behind us. Then we can attain a probable understanding of the universal reality, and a faith to think and live by. But the intellect must never become so vain as to neglect the intuitional, mystical way so intimately described for us by Maurice Sciaky.

WILLIAM A. SHIMER.

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Theodore Parker, Intellectual Gourmand

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
Professor of History, New York University

"DR. FÜSTER is well, but schlimmer—poor soul—he has only one scholar who pays, and that is myself, studying Polish. I learned Russian, Illyrian, and Bohemian a little with him, long ago." It is Theodore Parker writing to his good friend Desor, the Swiss geologist, and he has been indulging his monstrous appetite for knowledge. Indulgence it indubitably was, an indulgence that led to weakness but never to satiety. For Parker's appetite was as omnivorous as it was incessant: Polish, Illyrian, and Bohemian (he mastered none of them, to be sure) were but incidents in the study of philology, and philology itself was but one of many subordinate interests. Languages were a fascinating game, and it was fun to see how many of them he could play with, and not a little flattering to be known as a prodigy of learning.

And the reputation was not undeserved. He was probably the most variously learned man in America, this short, stocky, mild-eyed preacher with his bucolic ways who each Sunday fired the hearts and lifted the spirits of the thousands who packed the great Music Hall in Boston. To look at him, as he stood there, awkward and with still uncertain gestures—quite without the polished grace of an Everett or the proud assurance of a Summer or the serene nobility of an Emerson—to look at him one would scarcely suspect that the richness and abundance of his learning was the envy and the despair of all his contemporaries. His sermons, to be sure, had a solidity and a substance that suggested the school-room rather than the pulpit, but they were no parade of scholarship, no boastful show of erudition. Couched in the homely language that Parker loved—Anglo-Saxon words, most of them—and borrowing their imagery and their analogies from the simple, every-day life of the people, they dealt not with abstruse doctrinal problems but with the great moral issues of the day. For Parker's learning was a democratic learning, as native as Lexington Common and as utilitarian—despite the Polish and the Illyrian and the Bohemian—as an encyclopedia. There was an ever-present dan-

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ger, to be sure, that he might come to regard scholarship as an end in itself, that he might become an antiquarian, and his passion for the sheer accumulation of knowledge grew on him until it became something of a vice. But the roaring current of public affairs never permitted him to cultivate the fields of scholarship without an earnest regard to the harvest, and he found a use for even the most exotic information. He attempted to master the whole field of theology and church history, and then turned his scholarly batteries on the entire façade of Calvinistic theology and did more than any other American to shatter it and to liberate those whose spirits had been imprisoned behind its barricade. He surveyed the entire field of ancient and modern history and drew from that survey moral lessons on questions of slavery, of war, and of democracy that he drove home to his contemporaries with compelling logic. He read deeply and wisely in philosophy and erected on the basis of that study the most cogent rationalization of transcendentalism and the most eloquent attack on sensationalism that was to come out of New England. He immersed himself in the history of the law, from Justinian to Blackstone, and when he was indicted for attempting to rescue a fugitive slave took charge of his own defence, forced the court to quash the indictment, and prepared a written *Defence* that is a marvel of legal learning. His study of languages led him to an appreciation of comparative religion that anticipated the work of James Freeman Clarke, and his extensive dabblings in geology and biology prepared him to accept the Darwinian theory of evolution. And the magnificent library which he accumulated lovingly through the years, searching the bookstalls and auction rooms of Europe, tracking down incunabula, adding rare sets of the reports of learned societies, was built up with the avowed purpose of presenting it to the people of Boston as a testimonial of his faith in democratic education.

It had been no part of Parker's purpose, originally, to be a tribune of the people, to guide them along paths of righteousness with the torch of learning. He had anticipated, this broad-shouldered Lexington farm-boy with six generations of Yankee blood in his veins, cloistered life in the study and in the pulpit of a small New England parish. His youth had been passed in exacting toil on a stubborn farm, his schooling had been meager, and poverty denied him the boon of four years at Harvard. These obstacles he surmounted, and studying

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with a passionate perseverance that shattered his health, he prepared himself for Divinity School and a life of scholarship. If the Harvard Divinity School of the 1830's was not vibrating to the new currents of scholarship, there was at least a proper respect for learning, of a restricted kind. Professor Andrews Norton was a veritable paragon of biblical erudition; John G. Palfrey of anti-slavery fame may have inspired Parker with a love of history; and gentle Convers Francis in near-by Watertown opened his own library and his hospitable mind to the young neophyte. Soon Parker, trudging across the campus with an armful of books from Francis' library, was a familiar figure; and when he was not following the academic routine he was translating the letters of LaFayette for Dr. Sparks, teaching Dr. Palfrey's class in Hebrew, editing the *Christian Interpreter*, tutoring students in Greek, German, and Hebrew, or working on the monumental translation of De Wette's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. In a short time he had graduated, "candidated" at Barnstable and at Concord, and accepted a call from the quiet little parish of West Roxbury, not yet the scene of the hopeful experiment in plain living and high thinking that was Brook Farm.

It was peaceful there in the white parsonage set back from the white picket fence and shaded by great elm and maple trees, and from his study Parker could look out over the lovely garden of his friend and parishioner, George Russell. He could sit up there twelve or fifteen hours a day, plugging away at De Wette, studying the classics anew, toying with an edition of Shakespeare's sonnets which was never to be completed, and working his way doggedly through the new theological literature coming out of Germany. It was this, indeed, that proved his undoing, for the more deeply he read in De Wette and Schleiermacher, Vatke and Baur, Ewald and Strauss, the greater was his discontent with conservative Unitarianism and the sensational philosophy which it accepted. And then Emerson delivered his memorable Divinity School Address, and Professor Norton charged him with the "latest form of Infidelity" and the great struggle between conservative and liberal Unitarianism was on. Parker watched it with a growing dissatisfaction. "There is a higher word to be said," he wrote in his Journal, and he determined to say it. The long peaceful days were over—never to return—and Parker entered the theological arena on behalf of transcendentalism.

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We cannot follow here the heated controversy that ensued—the publication of the "Levi Blodgett Letter" and the notorious South Boston sermon that shocked so many good Christians, and the ill-advised attempt to force the upstart Parker out of the Boston Association of Unitarian Ministers. What came out of it all was not only a clearly formulated philosophy of transcendentalism in the realm of religion but the introduction, under the compelling stress of controversy, of new standards of theological scholarship, and a new concept of the function of scholarship in the field of religion. And Parker's chief contribution was not the erudite *Discourse of Religion* with its massive learning and its eloquent persuasiveness, but rather his insistence upon the scientific study of theology. "All study of theology must be abandoned," he confided to his old friend Francis, "or it must be studied in a method and with a thoroughness and to an extent which bears some resemblance to the state of other sciences." His own contributions, aside from the great *Discourse*, were mostly of a critical nature. He introduced and popularized the "higher criticism," reviewing Strauss's *Life of Christ* and Dorner's *Christology* and Ackerman's *Christianity in Plato*, celebrating the achievements of the Tübingen school, and publishing his learned edition of De Wette. His influence spread throughout the church: young James Freeman Clarke, who was to popularize comparative religion, felt it, and Octavius Frothingham reading the heavy German books in Parker's study, and ardent inquisitive Daniel Conway up from Virginia, and brilliant versatile Thomas Wentworth Higginson. He furnished much of the inspiration for the critical study of religion, but his own far-flung scholarly plans were never brought to fruition—plans for a History of the Reformation which he wanted to write, and the History of Religious Thought since the Reformation for which he collected material, and the all too ambitious Historical Development of Religion of which we have only some fragmentary but impressive notes.

Meantime Parker was turning his attention to secular scholarship. The *Dial* had come into existence, that quintessential materialization of the New England mind of the forties, sponsored by Emerson and high-flying Margaret Fuller and ardent George Ripley. Parker distrusted Margaret, but Emerson he venerated, and George Ripley he counted his dearest friend: it was inevitable that he should contribute

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to the new journal and just as inevitable that, once enlisted, he should become the most frequent and the most popular contributor. And later, when the *Dial* came to its lamented end, Parker promptly established a successor, *The Massachusetts Quarterly*, the "*Dial* with a beard." Some of his best scholarly work was done for these quarterlies—the learned essays on German literature and on German theology, the warm eulogy of Dr. Follen, the slashing attacks on Prescott, the fine critical estimate of John Quincy Adams, and the somewhat less satisfactory appreciation of Emerson. These essays, with some contributions to the *Christian Examiner* of the same years, indicate better than anything else the scope and depth of Parker's scholarship and the theories of historical and literary criticism which he entertained.

The essays were patterned on the Macaulay model: if they lacked the coruscating brilliance of the Chatham and the Clive they possessed the same qualities of learning and partisanship. For Parker studied and wrote with a view to proving a point: scholarship was for him a weapon rather than a luxury, and he was no more able to avoid moralizing than was Macaulay himself. But though he did not subscribe to later theories of scientific and impartial history, he was surprisingly modern both in his methods and in his conception of the proper scope of history. In nothing that he wrote are these various, even contradictory, principles better illustrated than in the essays on Prescott.

Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, *Conquest of Mexico*, and *Conquest of Peru* had been greeted with a chorus of approval in two hemispheres, and it was a bold thing to file a dissenting opinion. Before passing judgment on the volumes Parker attempted to read everything available that Prescott himself had read, and when he turned from the sources to Prescott's own account he found it unsatisfactory on counts of accuracy, organization, scope, and philosophy; even the style he set down as "commonplace." The principal objections to Prescott's histories were two: the concept of history was narrow, unilluminating, and aristocratic, and the histories failed to record moral judgments where such judgments were called for ("Isabella," Parker wrote didactically, "deserves the censure of every historian"). The second complaint we can dismiss as a mistaken though thoroughly characteristic one, but the first anticipated a concept of his-

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tory later celebrated by Green, Lamprecht, and McMaster. Parker asserted:

> The historian is to describe the industrial condition of the people—the state of agriculture, commerce, and the arts, both the useful and the beautiful; to inform us of the means of internal communication, of the intercourse with other nations—military, commercial military, or religious. He must tell of the social state of the people, the relation of the cultivator to the soil, the relation of class to class. He is to inquire what sentiments and ideas prevailed in the nation: whence they came, how they got organized, and with what result. Hence not merely are the civil and military transactions to be looked after, but the philosophy which prevails in the nation is to be ascertained and discoursed of; the literature, laws, and religion. . . . It is well to know what songs the peasant sung; what prayers he prayed; what food he ate; what tools he wrought with; what tax he paid; how he stood connected with the soil; how he was brought to war, and what weapons armed him for the fight.

Prescott, Parker observed, gives none of this. His Histories are unsatisfactory precisely because they are not only aristocratic but essentially frivolous. They are so largely concerned with the pomp and pageantry of the court and the battlefield that they ignore the things of the mind and of the spirit which give to life its significance. Quite aside from the justice of these animadversions it is obvious that Parker here presents a theory of history thoroughly democratic and that he reveals a mind not only critical but philosophic and richly informed.

No less astonishing was the learning displayed in the other essays. They ranged from an analysis of the "American Scholar" as unconventional in substance as it was conventional in theme, to an erudite study of St. Bernard of Clairvauz, from a detailed criticism of Hildreth's "History" to a sympathetic appreciation of ballad literature. They embraced the fields of economics and sociology as well as of philosophy and theology, history and literature. As the years passed they became increasingly concerned with the great social problems of the day, and they took on increasingly a journalistic flavor relieved only by the solidity of their information and the eloquence of their phrasing. They are marked, indeed—the later ones—by profuseness rather than discrimination, by passion rather than philosophy, yet even in the most timely of the studies, such as those on the Mexican War and on Webster, the historical learning that went into their

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preparation is remarkable, and the preparation was as thorough and as massive as for the more academic essays.

But the real monument to Parker's learning, and the one from which he derived the deepest satisfaction, was not his essays or his edition of De Wette or his correspondence with scholars throughout the world, but his library. It was not large, as libraries go now—some 16,000 volumes perhaps—but that it was the richest private library in Boston if not in the entire country can scarcely be doubted. Young Theodore had bought his first book with money earned selling blueberries in Boston; it was Ainsworth's *Latin Dictionary* and he always felt for it a peculiar affection. The choice of the dictionary was prophetic, for the library came to be particularly rich in dictionaries and glossaries—even the African dialects were represented—and in fine editions of the Greek and Latin writers. There were sets of Pindar and Juvenal, Appularius and Suetonius, Dionysius and Polybius, as well as the more obvious Plutarch and Plato, Herodotus and Homer, Aristotle and Aeschylus. There were numerous works of the Church Fathers such as Migne's *Patrologia*, the *Maxima Bibliotheca veterum patrum*, the *Annales Eccleciastici* of 1597, the *Martyrologum Romanum*, Mabillon's *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, the rare *Alsatia illustrata Celtica Romana Franca*, and the rarer *Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodoxographica* published at Basle in 1569. Some of these we might perhaps expect in the library of a student of church history, but it is startling to find in a private library the tremendous *Monumenta Germanica Historica*, the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, the *Encyclopaedie des Wissenschaft und Kunst*, the *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* and the *Heidelberger Jarhbücher der Literatur*, the *Biographie Universelle* and the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantiae*. There was an extensive collection of geographies and travels, subjects for which Parker had an abiding curiosity: Rauwolf's *Aigentliche Beschreibung der Raisz*, sixteen volumes of *Mémoires concernant des Chinois*, *Grönlands Mindesmaerker*, Malt-Brun's *Universal-Geography*, the *Historie Générale des Voyages*, Münster's *Cosmographia* from 1554, and some twenty volumes of the *Allgemeine Historie des Reisen*. Almost every important historian, English, French, Italian, Spanish, was represented, and the imposing collection of legal works testified to Parker's unflagging interest in jurisprudence. Here was Savigny's

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Zeitschrift, the *Corpus Juris Germanici Publici ac Privati* from 1766, the works of Puffendorf and Grotius, Eichorn and Spangenberg, and even the Danish Paul Ancher, and more extensive sets such as Howell's *State Trials*, the *English State Trials*, and Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*.

Many of the volumes bear Parker's comments, and some of them have full marginal annotations. In a copy of Alexander Murray's *History of the European Languages* Parker has written, "I had long been looking for a copy of this curious book, which I borrowed years ago and studied, when I found it advertised in a newspaper published in Charlestown, S. C., and sent to me that I might profit from a violent and abusive article against me. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*"; and in the fly leaf of a copy of *Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Geographicae Enarrationis, Libri Octo*, of 1535, we read, "I received this long-sought volume on the seventy-ninth anniversary of the Battle of Lexington. It is the edition of Michael Servetus, whereon see Mosheim Gesch. M.S. s.xviii p. 60 et seq." A copy of the *Indian Good Book* contains the interesting note, "This is the only literary monument of the language of the Abenaki Tribe. T.P." Parker's copies of Locke's Treatises on Human Understanding, of many of the classics, of his large collection of anti-slavery pamphlets, of the writings of Cousin and Comte, and the works of John Adams and Franklin and Jefferson, are richly embroidered with marginal comments, while his Journal records from day to day his critical reaction to his astonishingly variegated reading.

Few things are more unilluminating than bibliographical lists, but even this string of titles, fragmentary and inadequate as it is, suggests something of the scope of Parker's intellectual interests, and the eagerness and patience with which he pursued them. And the library, notwithstanding its ultimate destination, was emphatically not a collector's library. Each book had its place and its purpose and each earned its keep. There were, of course, concessions to antiquarianism, but the footnotes of the *Discourse of Religion* or of the *Defence*, the Journals and the correspondence, all bear abundant witness to the intimacy with which Parker knew and used his great collection.

But at the same time the library indicates something of the defects of Theodore Parker's mind as a scholarly instrument. Obviously Parker tried to absorb too much: catholicity of mind was a virtue but

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attempted omniscience became a vice. He was a gourmand rather than a gourmet of intellectual food, and suffered the fate common to gluttons. It cannot be said of the author of the *Discourse* or of the essays on Prescott that he was superficial, but it can be said that his own intellectual curiosity together with the pressure of public affairs never permitted him to develop his thought as a whole. His intellectual ambition and his mental restlessness drove him to ever new fields, and his incessant service as a tribune of the people did not allow him time to cultivate the soil deeply enough. He read widely in philosophy but his philosophic writings are suggestive rather than profound; his hospitable mind embraced the whole of history but he never elaborated a philosophy of history; he was one of the best-informed classical scholars of his time, but his criticisms consist of brilliantly disjointed jottings in his Journal. His passion for the accumulation of books led him to such an exaggerated estimate of their value that his friend John Dwight rebuked him for his "mania for all printed things," while Lowell hit him off neatly in the *Fable for Critics.*

Yet this alone does not account for Parker's limitations as a scholar. Insistent as the distractions were he might have denied some of them, such as the incessant lecturing, had he been so inclined. But Parker's real ambitions were not so much scholarly as they were journalistic; his mind was moralistic rather than metaphysical; and he had a passion for the accumulation of facts rather than for the formulation of ideas. He did not move easily in the realm of philosophy nor was he at home with abstract ideas. For all of his elaborate justification of transcendentalism he was closer to Franklin than to Emerson. He was a great popularizer—in no vulgar sense of the word —rather than an original thinker. He furnished the scholarly rationale to the great moral crusades of the day—religious liberalism, humanitarianism, and abolitionism, and Wendell Phillips said truly of him, "He brought us, as no one else could, the loftiest stature of New England culture. He brought us a disciplined intellect, whose statement was evidence, whose affirmation the most gifted student hesitated long before he ventured to doubt or to contradict." It would be difficult to find any other figure in our history who accepted so fully the responsibilities of learning, or revealed so admirably the function of the Scholar in the Republic.

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Science and Belief

T. SWANN HARDING

IT has long been assumed that religious beliefs have some peculiar power to blight scientific thought. This was held to be true long before the Scopes trial, even long before the appearance of Andrew White's volume on the warfare assumed always to be taking place between science and religion. Religious beliefs certainly impeded the progress of research in the Middle Ages. Yet careful students of that time, like Thorndike, assure us that, for instance, religious prejudice did not, as is commonly supposed, prevent the dissection of human bodies in the fifteenth century. On the contrary systematic dissections were held regularly during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and even high officials often consented to the autopsies of relatives by physicians. Thorndike goes on to say also that we are quite wrong in picking out a few great names in the so-called Dark Ages and in supposing that these men alone were active in science, for there were many quite as brilliant scientists and thinkers as they. Other students again have shown conclusively that the so-called antipathy between science and religion in the Middle Ages was in reality a warfare between Aristotelian philosophy and the newer mode, in process of development by physical scientists, of thinking about the how rather than the why of phenomena in nature.

Aristotle had long been the supreme philosopher and the Church, like other institutions, including science, had made its peace with him. When the findings of men like Copernicus and Galileo began to menace the foundations of the philosophy of Aristotle the Church, which accepted this thinker as final, naturally fought back. The warfare was not between organized religion and scientific research but between a belief in scientific research and in the philosophy of Aristotle. The warfare is generally between belief and science.

That belief may be of any kind—nationalistic, patriotic, economic, or religious. Any belief at all, held with marked emotional intensity and including the too fervent beliefs of scientists themselves in the rectitude and verity of their own methods and findings,

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is bound to destroy that atmosphere of objectivity and detachment within which alone scientific thought and research can thrive. Provided the beliefs of the government and of the religion are held with emotional restraint and dispassionate objectivity, science can thrive under any form of government or in competition with any kind of religion. But the minute the government, religion, economic sect, or school of philosophy loses *sui compose* and begins to believe with fervent emotional tension, that atmosphere which makes possible the development of pure research and scientific thought is destroyed.

Can science, then, exist fully and freely under Communism? No. The scientific journals in 1931 reported that the Russian Academy of Science was being purged of individuals thought to be out of sympathy with the political dogmas of the government. Scientific workers were practically bidden to refrain from holding independent scientific beliefs. Nikolai Bukharin even said that pure science was a figment of the imagination, a sort of bourgeois, capitalistic myth which must be weeded out. Immediate problems, however, must be solved by science.

The official Communistic attitude towards science was fully presented to the capitalist nations by the Russian scientists who appeared at the International Congress of the History of Science and Technology held in London in the summer of 1931.[1] All the Communistic scientists gave papers well grounded in the official Soviet philosophy of dialectical materialism and this was true whether the writer spoke as an economist, a technologist, a physical scientist, or a mathematician. The sacred works of Marx and Engel and Lenin were quoted constantly as refuting "bourgeois" physics or mathematics. All of the scientists were refreshingly otherworldly, Utopian, and idealistic, as is meet with all who suddenly invest some belief with divine efficacy. Many sought to exorcise the work of such capitalists as Pupin, Einstein, and Millikan as believers of an earlier day sought to exorcise a personal devil. The metaphysical and mystical conclusions of physicists in capitalistic countries were much denounced. The modern resolution of all matter into electricity and wide open spaces was regarded by the Russian scientists as pure capitalistic propaganda since, if persisted in, it would prove most men-

[1] The book, *Science at the Crossroads*, contains the papers given. Only the more incredible passages are quoted here. These are from the speeches of scientists who formulated the doctrine most clearly.

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acing to dialectical materialism. These pernicious errors were shown by Nicolai Bukharin to inhere in non-Marxian science. He scented class bias, capitalistic prejudice, and the curse of individualism in the denial of the reality of the external world, for Marx had shown that these were "modern capitalist theories of cognition." Bukharin declared, moreover, that no scientist should ever try to be impersonal in his work and then shouted:

> It is not only a new economic system that has been born. A new culture has been born. A new science has been born. A new style of life has been born. This is the greatest antithesis in human history, which both theoretically and practically will be overcome by the forces of the proletariat—the last class aspiring to power, and in order in the long run to put an end to all power whatsoever.

These Russian scientists found Millikan and Eddington misguided and debased for having said that the world is spatially infinite, that it has had a beginning in time, and that it moves towards greater and greater lack of organization. Naturally these speculations may or may not be true but the interesting thing about the paper of Professor E. Colman, teacher of mathematics and mechanics and natural science in Moscow, was his statement: "To us Marxian-Leninists it is obvious that this physical theory merely reflects the general tendency in bourgeois ideology, which interprets the approaching and inevitable end of the capitalist system as the approach of anarchy."

This is precisely the approach of the religious thinker who says that the love and understanding of God and His ways compensate for the lack of all the knowledge in the secular world. Just so Professor Colman avers that his quotations from the Vedas of Marx and Lenin more than atone for his indifference to the secular knowledge of the outside world. He speaks fervently, therefore, of "the essential reason that prevents the bourgeois investigator of nature, the spontaneous materialist, from recognizing dialectics and which, even in the period of capitalist decline, urges him towards idealism, in his close association with the ruling class and their ideology." This sounds quite unbelievable but it is a quotation from a "scientific" paper.

Other quotations seem required in order to make this credible:

> Only by investigation in the different spheres of science conducted by dialectical materialists from this standpoint shall we be able to work out the

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problem of the conditions in which the opposing factors of a law melt into each other without running the danger "of playing a futile game with empty analogies, of falling into abstruse Hegelianism," against which Lenin uttered a warning. Each of the brilliant concrete examples of the negation of negation adduced by Marx, Engels, and Lenin will form the backbone for researches into all the new material offered by the most recent developments in society and its ideology, including both physics and biology.

These quotations come from Professor Colman's "scientific" paper on "Dynamic and Statistical Regularity in Physics and Biology," read to scientists at London. In his other paper on "The Present Crisis in the Mathematical Sciences and General Outline for Their Reconstruction" (read at the same congress) he says things like this:

To solve all these theoretical and practical problems, to overcome the crisis in the present-day mathematics, to reconstruct it along socialist lines, patient and persistent work is necessary, the collective work of all Soviet mathematicians and of those scientists in capitalist countries who wish to go with us.

The power of belief should be noted. Moreover, only those mathematicians in capitalistic lands who "wish to go along with us" may assist in this hallowed process. It will be remembered that whenever the partisans of one strong religious faith decide to unite with those of another they say: "Brethren, you have erred, but we may now be one, if you 'wish to go along with us.' " Professor Colman continued:

Proceeding from the Leninist theory of the unity of theory and practise, we in the Soviet Union shall reconstruct the mathematical sciences. Acknowledging the Leninist principle that the sciences are not impartial, we shall place mathematics at the service of socialist reconstruction and in this way save it from the decay that is inescapable under capitalism.

This is directly to the point. If you were to look an ordinary scientist in the face and ask him pointblank if he were a socialist mathematician you would expect to be laughed at. Yet so powerful and so fervent can belief in the soterial efficacy of an economic system become that one of its adherents, though a scientist, is first of all a socialist, then only in a very secondary and residual manner a mathematician. Not only that but, though the basic tenet of pure science is a striving for objectivity, he declares that no science or scientist can be impartial and that all science should, therefore, be biased. Within

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such an atmosphere the detached forms of pure thought required for basic scientific discoveries are impossible.[1]

But Communism is not alone in blighting science. Fascism or Hitlerism does the same. In 1932 a prominent American physiologist protested the fact that the Italian Government required all professors in Roman universities to take an oath of loyalty to the Fascist Government. The American was Professor A. J. Carlson but his protest was hotly resented by Professor Giuseppe Montalenti, a Roman scientist, who pointed out that the Italian Government had made no brutal or defiant attack on academic freedom by requiring the oath. Quite the contrary, indeed, for the professors had been only too glad to take it! Only 12 out of a total of 1,225 refused the oath. The professors and scientists concerned (most of them were biologists or physiologists) were first of all good Fascists, then only good scientists. The possibilities of success in pure research under such circumstances seem much attenuated.

In Hitler's Germany the dilemma of the Jews has rather generally obscured the fact that there is being created a general environment wherein a continuation of German scientific research, in many senses the most notable in the world for many years, cannot continue. For Hitler himself has written: "Intellectual training does not serve in a moment when steel is needed. Our education did not produce Men (he means Hitlerlized Germans) but engineers, chemists, jurists, and professors." Chancellor Rust of Education denounces "unprejudiced, objective scientific teaching and Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment Goebbels says there is now no place in Germany for sterile intellectuality and scientific objectivity and that the Academies must be purged of liberalism, humanism, rationalism, and capitalism. If the Communists found modern physicists of the Einstein school very bad indeed, Hitlerism finds them still worse. The government promises intellectual freedom and the encouragement of research but casts out everything it thinks savors of "Jewish" intellectualism or the critical, scientific spirit. Scholarly scientific work cannot be carried on in an atmosphere so charged with emotionally intense beliefs. Research requires the quiet, security, opportunity for concentrated thought that Communism and Fascism cannot give. It

[1] In an article, "The Mythology of Class Science," published in the March 1934 *Modern Monthly*, after my paper was written, an intelligent American Communist, Sydney Hook, has protested against this Marxian revaluation of science.

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cannot thrive in a country where a man is forbidden to lecture on anatomy because he is a member of the League for Human Rights. Then what about science under what we know as capitalism in the United States?

Recent changes in Europe have vastly altered the political, social, and economic environment of the scientists. The scientists have quite generally responded not only by quiet acceptance of this new environment but by becoming fervent partisans of the beliefs that have produced that new environment. This is largely because scientists have for many years trained themselves to be indifferent to the social consequences of their research discoveries and to treat all questions in the realm of political economy as of very minor importance. The pure scientist, moreover, is quite likely to regard himself as somewhat superfluous and impractical and is therefore inclined to espouse new economic and social beliefs rather enthusiastically as a sort of defense mechanism.

In America scientists have grown up with capitalism. Until very recent years there have been no rapid changes in the form of this economic individualism that so well served pioneering American business and industry. Consequently the effect of social, economic, and political beliefs upon American scientists has tended to be more subtle and less conspicuous than in the European instances just considered. Moreover scientists everywhere are shockingly specialized. Since the education of future physical scientists in the social sciences is sketchy and hopelessly inadequate it is the usual thing for a really distinguished physical or biological scientist to speak in terms of the antiquated social, economic, and political theories which he was taught a quarter of a century ago to revere as established and inviolate.

There are, of course, direct manifestations of the blighting effects of capitalism upon pure research—such manifestations as the manufacture of worthless or near worthless nostrums, for example, which are nevertheless officially endorsed, in advertisements, by citations and quotations from many scientific papers. The services of scientifically trained workers are required to produce such medicines, yet it would be impossible for any such worker to maintain intellectual integrity when compelled to engage in such flimflammery to make a living. And in 1933 the Association of National Advertising felt compelled to condemn "pseudo-scientific advertising, including

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claims insufficiently supported by accepted authority or that distort the true meaning or application of a statement made by a professional or scientific authority." Yet workers in science have taken part in such pseudo-scientific commercial work so often as to inhibit in them the kind of thinking demanded by pure research. In America research has been par excellence the business builder. In prosperous 1928 it was estimated that big corporations spent over $200,000,000 annually in what they affected to call "pure research" and on which they expected a return of from 500 to 1,000 per cent of the investment. The Federal Government was then said to be engaged in 553 separate research projects, 360 of which were cooperative, with 1100 commercial concerns sharing in the expense. We read also, and this is significant:

> Between scholasticism and industrial research there is an interaction and an interdependence. The commercial laboratory lends a hand to "pure" science and to university investigators. Will the university reciprocate?

So wrote Silas Bent in *Scribner's Magazine* for September 1928. In July, 1930, *Engineering and Contracting* was even more overt in tracing this relationship between a fervent belief in the beneficence of the capitalistic system as we have known it in America and the bent of pure science. An editorial asked "Is Commercialism Degrading to Pure Science?" and the answer was an emphatic no. The University of Michigan was then capitalizing its research discoveries in a purely commercial way. Great manufacturing concerns were also notable for the "pure research" carried on in their laboratories. In neither case was profit-making belittled, for profits are the mere rental value of brain power. Finally, said the editorial, "There is no more merit in pure science without an eventual application in the service of humanity than there is in the speculations of a Buddhist philosopher about the transmigration of souls." Precisely how this attitude of the American capitalist representatives differs from that of the Hitlerite and the Communist in its antipathy to intellectual freedom and pure research it would be very difficult to say.

Other universities also went into business to capitalize their research discoveries. This was done, in one of many instances, by the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, on a basis of the Steenbock processes for making foods possess the properties of vitamin D. This

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brought law-suits which involved the spectacle of the scientist in court swearing that he had invented and discovered this process, a process none the less built upon the foundation of other discoveries, quite as important, by other scientists—some of them like the late Dr. Alfred F. Hess also well known, others unknown, but none of whom were represented in court. In 1932 scientific journals were reporting the financing of the Basic Science Research Laboratory of the University of Cincinnati in such manner that it might live in future by the profits from its past findings. A holding company was to be formed "in which the corporation that has contracted for the patents owns a majority of the stock but the University of Cincinnati a good minority." The name of the university was to be kept out of advertising except by special permission, developmental research was to be done by the holding company, and the university was not to be involved in the commercial end of the work.

This sort of development in university life is quite natural in the American environment. There is no reason to ascribe ulterior or objectionable motives to the scientists who participate therein. The fact, however, that such arrangements of convenience with business exist is itself an important indication of the further fact that science is at peace with the industrial and economic system and, secondly, that scientists are too much permeated with the notion that this system has right on its side to enable them to think freely beyond very serious limitations. In other words the disinterested scientists who help eradicate the destroying curly-top disease of beets are altogether too "disinterested" in the fact that the great beet-sugar producing companies have long rolled up enormous profits by compelling whole families to work from sunrise to sunset in this artificially tariff-subsidized industry, and by paying able tenant workers as little as $80 to $120 a year. The cooperation, however, between the established economic system and the scientists has been too close to expect anything else. Business has reached into the university and beneficently controled the educational process by the establishment of commercial fellowships. In the summer of 1929 a milling journal announced that some ninety-odd research scholarships and fellowships were then supported by industry and that investigations were thus encouraged in leather, rubber, glass, cement, powder, meat, cereals, and chemicals. At Johns Hopkins four different firms had established fellowships;

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at Yale, Cornell, Western Reserve, University of Chicago, Iowa State, and Kalamazoo things were the same, grants of from one to several thousand dollars accompanying each fellowship. The evil in all this lies, not in the fact that these acts are in themselves reprehensible but that they have the effect of pervading young scientific and technical workers with the "right" kind of social and economic beliefs.

What is the result? We can read it in Evans Clark's 1931 report on *American Foundations and Their Fields*. The twenty largest foundations then had a combined capital of nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars and the 122 foundations studied in this report had $100,000,000 more than that all told. With social and economic problems crying for study during this period of terrific economic depression, medicine, public health, and education took 62.5 per cent of all the money granted by the foundations for research. The report says:

> Only 15 out of 122 foundations showed an interest in the economic field [Business, Industry, and Finance] in 1930 and only $770,591 out of $52,476,137, or 1.5 per cent of the total grants, were given to it. Government and Politics is also surprisingly low on the list when compared with the public interest in the field. Only 6 foundations were interested and they gave to it only $794,271, or 1.5 per cent, of the total grants.

In other words if the "right" beliefs can be deftly insinuated into scientists they will do what is wanted of them in any country anywhere at any time. It has been well said that the exploiters of wealth are not its creators, and the discoverers and creators have long had entirely too little interest in the exploitation of the knowledge they have set loose upon the world. The scientist tends to be otherworldly about such things, and, so long as he is encouraged to believe that he has his head and can go where he wishes, he will seldom see the reins or the driver. The worker in pure research is hypersensitive to the approval or the disapproval of those in authority. Because he feels that he is parasitic upon the important life of action and production, he wants to retain the good opinion of rulers and of all practical men. But any such belief makes him less the scientist. He comes to avoid both rational departures from attested truths and debate about such matters as "importing heated controversial feeling into the calm at-

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mosphere" of the laboratory. Hence non-scientific pressures and the beliefs that produce them always tend to mold the direction and therefore the results of pure research.

This is true in any country during any period. The more strident and emotionally tinged the beliefs, the more inimical they are to science and the more clamorously they tend to insist that pure intellectuality is sterile and that pure research must be practical. But suppose scientists had met in the seventeenth century to consider means of transport. They would naturally have considered the breeding of horses, the improvement of vehicles, the maintenance of highways, and such "practical" matters. If one "pure" research worker had arisen and said, "Concern yourselves rather with the effect of acidulated water upon couples of different metals," he would have been laughed at and perhaps thrown out. Yet that fool would have been right against all the practical wise men, for it was the electric current that wrought the greatest revolution in transportation. Michael Faraday was a purely experimental philosopher who worked only to find out more about nature, quite impersonally and unacquistively and without thought of practical applications. But in 1931 he was honored by people who had most in mind the practical applications that ultimately resulted from his curiosity, a curiosity "as idle as that of a Pueblo myth-maker," to quote Vehlen. Since Faraday happened to believe scientifically in the unity of all natural forces he sought for connections between electricity, magnetism, heat, light, and chemical action. He fortunately lived in a time when a man could pursue such idle activities without being compelled to believe in dialectical materialism, the practicality of science, or the importance of putting on the market an electrical device to cure the ills of middle age. Faraday was not absolutely contemptuous of practice. He would emerge from his laboratory and assist the state or public bodies but he cared nothing for wealth and he refused the offers of industry.

The foundations of abstract science were laid by the Greeks. In later years the objective of obtaining the most speedy practical results from research has often impeded the progress of science, which always goes along best when uncontaminated by any powerful beliefs, and with only idle curiosity as its motive. That formative period during which the sole motive for research is an idle curiosity, unanimated by even the slightest idea of immediate practical value, is very im-

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portant to the whole progress of science. Without this formative period the ultimate progress of science is impossible. During this period the scientist must shield himself from dogmatic beliefs, and if he works in an atmosphere that is literally charged with emotionally intense beliefs of any kind—be they religious, economic, political, social, or even scientific—his work is bound to suffer.

Hence apparently sterile intellectuality is the necessary foundation upon which science and modern civilization build. Make it impossible for scientists to yield to the urge of their intellectual curiosity, idly and without thought of profit, and you have made it impossible for the kind of civilization we know to do other than decline. Even when scientists themselves come under the sway of certain intense beliefs about scientific hypotheses and square off for the time into controversial sects, the progress of science suffers. If science is to progress scientists must be masters of their beliefs. Quite regardless of the nature and quality of the beliefs, whenever such beliefs enslave the scientists, pure research becomes impossible and science stands still.

Our Intellectual Treadmills

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THOUGH I should be the last to quarrel with Professor Wertenbaker's assertion (in his article, "Our Intellectual Graveyards," THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Spring, 1934) that teachers in our small colleges could do with more academic leisure, I strenuously object to his assumption that the way to the undergraduate teacher's salvation lies through productive scholarship. Mind you, I have no feud with the productive scholar: he is an extremely useful member of our intellectual community, often a competent and not infrequently a brilliant teacher. But there is, so far as I have discovered, no real evidence before the court that he has a monopoly on good undergraduate teaching. If he has how are we to account for

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the really splendid teaching one occasionally finds in high schools? Surely even those "intellectual graveyards," the small colleges, are centers of scholarly activity compared to them. Moreover, I have seen very respectable college teaching done by instructors without so much as a single learned note with which to bless themselves.

There are few small campi, it is true, which cannot show an example or two of mental decay or ossification among their faculty. But though I have never heard a student say, "There goes old Dry-as-dust. He hasn't had a new idea since 1890," I have rather frequently heard students remark, with profane additions, after a particularly listless lecture by some distinguished scholar, "Too damned busy with his book even to go through the motions of a decent lecture!" I recall, besides, a most engaging old gentleman with a great reputation as a scholar whom I frequently met during my researches in the library of one of our largest universities, who was, if my unprofessional judgment is worth anything, definitely unbalanced—not to mention the scholars who, following the thorny road which leads through productive scholarship to the serene eminence of the doctor's degree, are overtaken by "nervous breakdowns" and have to be laid up for extended and not always successful mental repairs. Scholarly achievement is, I fear, no guaranty either of good teaching or of mental soundness.

The true advantage which a few—a very few—of our large universities possess lies, to my mind, not so much in their facilities for productive scholarship as in their vital intellectual atmosphere, a body of people with whom one can fight about ideas; and I see no reason why such an atmosphere cannot exist in a small college, although in my limited experience I have not encountered it. Professor Wertenbaker may, of course, reply that this atmosphere was the result of the congregation of a large number of scholars interested in research, but I doubt it. The people whose company I found most interesting complained almost to a man that productive scholarship was the thing that stood between them and a well-rounded education. Anyone who wanted to do anything in teaching must have a doctor's degree even to obtain a position; and to get a doctor's degree, the scientist must thrust himself into a narrow and highly specialized branch of bacteriology before he has had time for even a good rough survey of the whole field of biology, the student of literature must plunge

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into the study of minor works in Middle English before he has had a chance to gain a proper knowledge of classical literature, the economist—but why multiply examples?

The doctor's degree, most of us decided, would probably be a good thing if a man were given a chance to draw breath and look about him after he had attained it. But was he? Hardly. If he got a decent job (in a large university, of course), it was "Root, hog, or die!" Promotion, or even holding one's position, depended upon publication. One was, in short, caught in an intellectual treadmill.

The obverse of this picture is presented by the professor who complained to me that one in his field was kept endlessly busy sorting out the few valuable publications from the masses of trash that every month brought forth.

Perhaps the greatest misfortune of all is that many of the men whom the merciless demand for "productive scholarship"—God save the mark!—either turns entirely away from productive scholarship or forces to turn out shoddy, half-hearted, hastily done work, might, given time to ripen and develop, become truly productive scholars. Many others, in my estimation, would make better undergraduate teachers if the desire to get on in the world did not lead them to fritter away time and energy in scholarship which is essentially a bowing of the knee to Baal.

The function of the undergraduate teacher is to introduce his students to the stores of human knowledge and tradition and to the eager, impartial, questioning spirit which should be the hall-mark of the student. To do so properly he must have knowledge, enthusiasm, and a touch of histrionic ability, but some of us are not convinced that he needs a string of learned monographs to his credit. Such a list certainly does not prove that he will be a poor teacher; but the people who think that he cannot teach well without it overlook the fact that although all teachers should be scholars some are teachers first and scholars afterwards. To them the chief business (and pleasure) of life is teaching, and from their ranks are drawn many of our best undergraduate teachers. The man who is primarily a scholar naturally gravitates to his proper sphere of usefulness, the graduate school. His are the power, the glory, and the publications. If he is charitable he will leave to the teacher-scholar his function "for to admire and for to see, for to be'old this world so wide" and the attempt to make what

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he has seen alive to his students, and will refrain from unkind remarks about dilletanti and intellectual graveyards.

Professor Wertenbaker will, I believe, agree with me that the real danger to any teacher is that his teaching may become merely an automatic repetition "as tedious as a thrice-told tale vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man." Repetition, in large part, it must be; but if a man is to remain a teacher he cannot become a mere animated phonograph. The question is, "How is he to avoid this fate?" And at this point Professor Wertenbaker and I part company. According to him enthusiasm for a course in the principles of economics or in punctuation and grammar may best be renewed by composing an article on early Bœotian systems of land tenure or the pre-Germanic past participle. Perhaps—if the teacher really wants to write it, though even then there is some risk that the pursuit of such interests may turn him into a thorough-paced pedant who regards his classes as a tedious but unavoidable means of earning the bread and butter necessary to sustain life while he writes more and duller articles to win a better job at a bigger university where, in turn, he may write even more articles; and so on. If the teacher does not want to write the article, to bring pressure upon him to do so is merely to thrust him back into the treadmill which he escaped by avoiding the large university.

In a course which must repeat the same work from year to year, the real vitalizing and refreshing spirit, it seems to me, comes from the conviction that one's students need what one is trying to teach them, and from an interest in the students themselves and in the art of teaching. A fisher of men, no less than one of fish, should wait with bated breath for the "rise" though he has cast his lure in much the same waters a thousand times before. The delight of having a class snap at an idea before it hits the water does not stale with repetition.

It is true that one who is himself intellectually stagnant cannot hope to stir the intellects of others, but I do not find it written among the laws of the Medes and the Persians that publications are the only symptoms of intellectual life. They may be the only signs sufficiently obvious for certain deans and heads of departments to recognize, but that is scarcely the same thing. By what law, furthermore, is a man required to seek intellectual stimulation only in his own field? If he is a teacher even half worthy of his salt he will know that more than adequately for undergraduate teaching, and excursions into other

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fields may be of far more value to him both as a teacher and as a man than minute research in some remote corner of his own. What most of our faculties need today is chemists and economists who know some English and English teachers who know some science and economics.

If a fairy godmother were to ask me for a list of wishes in order of preference, a year at the university where my graduate work was done would stand high on the list, but not if I must confine myself to studies immediately productive of something I could publish. In fact, I should wish to do the major part of my work entirely outside my own field, and I think there are thousands who would echo my wish. The pedant may call us scatter-brained idlers if he will. Perhaps the more charitable will consider us modest enough to recognize that we are not yet equipped for first-class scholarly work. If we were allowed to stay outside our field for ten years those who got back—probably a rather small percentage—might be equipped to do some scholarly work they need not be ashamed of. But then, the instructor in a large university who spent even five years of the ten outside his own field would almost certainly be requested to spend the other five elsewhere. Certainly his promotion, no matter how competent his teaching, would be little short of a miracle.

The undergraduate teacher in the small college has some opportunity to take his eye off his own field for a few minutes now and then. Not so the ambitious young man in the large university. There is one sure path—and only one—to advancement: publication. For those who like it, it is a good road; and with those who can travel it without pedantry I have no quarrel—they are the very cream of our scholars. "I laud them; I praise them: they offend none"—but the dilletante. For those who follow it unwillingly, however, and for those who follow it merely as they would follow any other fashion I can muster nothing but a somewhat contemptuous sympathy. For the most part they are neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring—neither scholars, teachers, nor free men. Better a thousand times they had chosen the small college. At best, they might have become good teachers; at worst, they need never have become quack scholars. The intellectual graveyard is at least more restful and less hypocritical than the intellectual treadmill.

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Yarning in the Eighteen Fifties

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> The sobbing and sighing is endless. Everybody . . . goes about with an enormous sorrow at his heart.[1]

WHEN Edgar Allan Poe died in 1849 the stimulus he had brewed for American writers died with him. His famous 1842 review of *Twice Told Tales*, memorable because of its original rules for a new genre, the short story, was ignored by his contemporaries. Exerting little or no influence during his own time by virtue either of criticism or example, he remained a literary pariah. And after his death his life served only as a horrible example for Puritans of polite letters to shudder over. Today, more than eighty years after, time flips a gesture of derision at the shades of Poe's detractors. His reputation, boomeranged from Europe with the tag of foreign approval dear to all good patriots, has grown to a luxuriance tropic enough to make him a twentieth century candidate for psychological dissection. Fame has reached its apogee.

In the decade following his death, however, Poe was forgotten as completely as if he had never lived. These ten years were low tide in American letters. The ebb left rank malarial flats breathing a miasma poisonous with affectation and sentimentality. The air was loaded with the very germs Poe tried vainly to destroy. Save Hawthorne no writer of tales survived the epidemic. To be sure there was the brief glory of Fitz-James O'Brien but even he, despite the valiant aid of an edition of his stories as late as 1925,[2] is almost lost in undisturbed dust that mercifully covers forgotten years. There are no high points in the fifties. The now dusty landscape was submerged then in a deluge of feminine fiction that flowed to low tide in rivers of sticky

[1] Review of *Fashion and Famine* by Ann S. Stephens. *Putnam's*, Vol. 4, August, 1854, pp. 218–19.

[2] *Collected Stories* by Fitz-James O'Brien. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. 1925.

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complacency and floods of enervating tears. As Hawthorne testily wrote to Ticknor in 1855:

America is now wholly given over to a d——d mob of scribbling women. I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash—and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed. What is the mystery of these innumerable editions of *The Lamplighter* and other books neither better nor worse?—worse they could not be and better they need not be when they sell by the hundred thousand.[3]

The success of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 when one hundred thousand copies were sold in eight weeks probably induced many a woman to attempt a novel. Sara Willis Parton's first book, *Ruth Hall*, sold fifty thousand copies in eight weeks in 1854. Maria Cummins, author of the lachrymose *Lamplighter*, "one of the best and purest of its class that has emanated from an American mind";[4] Susan Warner who wrote *The Wide Wide World*, very popular throughout the fifties; the polynomic Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth; and others of their kind must have been glittering examples spurring on platoons of hopeful aspirants. Their efforts so littered the literary scene that even editors, like Hawthorne, sometimes viewed with alarm. A reviewer in *Putnam's* comments a little fearfully:

A most alarming avalanche of female authors has been pouring upon us the past three months, nearly all of whom are new.[5]

Knickerbocker's is more irritable and brutal:

We now have women-poets, women-sentimentalists, women-statesmen, women-historians, women-preachers, and women-doctors, et id omne genus, and the cry is, "still they come."[6]

The North American Review, fondly reproachful, waves a chiding finger:

It is apparent to any one who will take the trouble to look over the books

[3] *Letters of Hawthorne to William D. Ticknor 1851–1864*. Vol. 1, p. 75. 1910.
[4] *Godey's Lady's Book*. July, 1854. p. 84.
[5] *Putnam's*. Vol. 4, July 1854. p. 110.
[6] *Knickerbocker's Magazine*. Vol. 45, May, 1855. p. 525.

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which make up the burden of a bookseller's counter, that it has become a wonderfully common piece of temerity for a lady to make a book. . . . We trust the appetite for book-making notoriety is not so alarmingly on the increase among our fair friends as from the mere number of names we might forbode.[7]

The fair friends, however, deterred by no such mild reproofs, kept right on industriously spreading purple ink. Indeed, women's mania for bursting into print became of itself something to make stories about.

Isabel Bernard [we learn] was young and an authoress . . . [she] could support herself comfortably and look forward to a future that contained the greatest of worldly blessings—plenty of well-paid appreciated work.[8]

And Fitz-James O'Brien broadly satirized the hysteria by making the heroine of *Sister Anne* a young country girl who goes to New York, gets a job on the *Weekly Gong*, writes sketches entitled *Lichens*, attends literary soirées, and in six months is ready to publish a book. For Sister Anne writing is as effortless as breathing. An astonished editor says to her:

"You the author of those charming poems that have appeared from time to time in the *Aloe?* Why it's impossible. You can't be more than fourteen."
"I'm fifteen," answered Sister Anne, ". . . here are ten more poems."[9]

The results of all the frantic turmoil in crinoline were dull, priggish, fearfully soppy books that sold literally "by the hundred thousand" to a reading public, made up almost entirely of women, who must have been psychologically similar to tabloid addicts and of the same mental age as movie audiences. Novel reading, heretofore regarded as frivolous, even morally suspect, became respectable. The genteel went in for it—provided always the novels were the right sort. What the right sort was may readily be learned from the following opinion of the *North American Review:*

The popularity of a pure and practically useful style of fiction, recom-

[7] *North American Review.* Vol. 72, January, 1851. pp. 151, 153.
[8] "Isabel Bernard's Lesson." *Harpers.* Vol. XIX, No. CXI, August, 1859. p. 363.
[9] "Sister Anne," *Harpers.* Vol. XII, No. LXVII, December, 1855. p. 94.

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mending itself to the moral sense as well as the sympathetic passions of the story-loving public, shows that the standard to which all beneath must strive to conform, is continually rising. It is encouraging to reflect that the obscene wit and vulgar scenes of the old romances and dramas would not now be tolerated in the lowest and least pure of the tales now so cheaply offered to the public, and so eagerly read. In many of the very humblest of these a good aim is apparent, and even the affectation of a moral purpose shows that the public taste demands it.[10]

These righteous principles, applied by reviewers to the particular yarns that came to them, infect criticism of the eighteen fifties with an air of complete falseness. For one thing critics, dazzled by the pure white radiance of fragile womanhood, abrogate whatever critical standards they may possess and approach the shrine with fatuous chivalry intent upon praise at whatever cost to art. Thus:

Minerva's helmet and sword are a joke, and her shield is only useful to lean upon. Her fair face softens all manly hearts. He who should put her arms to the proof, even in a just cause, would cut but a sorry figure. Whoever it may be that she may have broken her lance upon, he can but shrug his shoulders, and leave her in possession of the field.[11]

. . . a charming book by a charming authoress. Gaze on the likeness of the fair writer and you see "Living and Loving" written in the sweet, happy face, and beaming from the deep, lustrous eye.[12]

The anonymous author [of *Busy Moments of an Idle Woman*] is a lady who writes with the customary grace and facility of expression which belong to her sex.[13]

Strange words these to the ear of the nineteen thirties! But stranger still are the book reviews. Among fulsome notices about sad sugary essays prettily entitled *Rural Hours* or *Broken Blossoms* or *Gems by the Wayside* or *Gathered Lilies*, among pious observations entombed in *Summer Gleanings*, *Stray Meditations*, *Voices of the Heart*, and many more by regiments of forgotten divines, one comes upon exhibits like the following culled from early issues of the blue-blooded *Atlantic Monthly:*

[10] "Female Authors," *North American Review*. Vol. 72, January, 1851. pp. 156–7.
[11] "Female Authors," *North American Review*. Vol. 72. January, 1851. p. 163.
[12] Review of *Living and Loving* by Virginia F. Townsend, *Godey's Lady's Book*. February, 1858. p. 187.
[13] *Putnam's*. Vol. 3, January, 1854. p. 109.

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Twin Roses: a Narrative, by Anna Cora Ritchie . . . the sentiment of the book is so pure, fresh and artless, its moral tone so high, its style so rich and melodious, and its purpose so charitable and good, that the reader is kept in pleasant attention to the end, and lays it down with regret.[14]

Vernon Grove: or Hearts as They Are. . . . It is an interesting story, of marked, but not improbable incidents, involving a few well-distinguished characters, who fall into situations to display which requires a nice analysis of the mind and heart, developed and graceful and flowing narrative, enlivened by natural and spirited conversations. The atmosphere of the book is one of refined taste and high culture. . . . The people in it, with scarce an exception, are people who mean to be good, and who are handsome, polite, accomplished and rich . . . it is a book marked by a high tone of moral and religious as well as artistic and esthetic culture . . . it embodies many worthy lessons for the mind and heart.[15]

The allegedly intellectual *North American Review,* commenting upon the novels of E. P. Roe, joins the aseptic parade:

. . . his stories have the very purest and loftiest aim, and indicate an author mildly conservative, rigidly conscientious, and sincerely devout. In fine, Mr. Roe has . . . moral characteristics which would make us thankful to have their circulation definitely increased.[16]

A stray note in *Putnam's,* while expressing the regulation "sentiments," carries with it a neat backhanded slap that damns at one stroke the myriad of slipshod sentences that passed over editors' desks in those sanctified and dreadful days:

Ida Norman . . . Mrs. Phelps' novel . . . in addition to the purity of its motives . . . has the not trifling merit of being grammatically written.[17]

Another succinct note, unearthed from *The Ladies' Repository,* is a summary pair of tongs consigning the defiling book to the everlasting bonfire:

Trumps. A Novel. By G. W. Curtis. Having read "Trumps" on the title-page, we went no further.[18]

Finally, *Fraser's* presents a wistaria festoon of sweet thoughts:

[14] *The Atlantic Monthly.* Vol. I, No. VII. May, 1858. p. 892.
[15] *The Atlantic Monthly.* Vol. III, No. XV. January, 1859. p. 133.
[16] *North American Review.* Vol. 85. July, 1857. p. 272.
[17] *Putnam's.* Vol. 4. November, 1854. p. 565.
[18] *Ladies' Repository* devoted to Literature and Religion. Vol. XXI, No. 5. May, 1861. p. 315.

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[*Light and Shade*] may be said to be a religious novel in its spirit, which is sweet and full of goodness. . . . The moral and religious tone of the story is at once earnest and unobtrusive . . . [it is] pure in sentiment, simple and touching in expression, and sound in principle.[19]

The foregoing review, in a synopsis of the story, makes plain the kind of human misbehavior that made dramatic conflicts in the eighteen fifties. The exposition is worth a short digression:

Angel Moore [the heroine] . . . gay, young, and charming . . . good and kind . . . is tempted on a visit to the country house of some fashionable relations, where, surrounded by a crowd of idle admirers, she is drawn into a round of private theatricals and frivolous excesses of all kinds, including amongst the rest sundry amusements which her severer friends regard as a desecration of the Sabbath.[20]

And so on. Her rigidly upright suitor, Templeton, gives her up as a lost soul, but she reforms in time for a happy ending.

Criticism in the eighteen fifties was made of just such fantastic stuff which is representative of "Literary Notices" fogged with considerations "pure," "refined," "elevated," "religious," "good," and "moral." They are as musty as the cobwebby old volumes that contain them. Could our ancestors really have been the suffocating bores they make themselves out? Whatever they were, in print, at least, a virulent piety ruled. Philistines held the field and the intelligentsia had no shock troops. The literary giant of the day, despite feverish efforts of authoresses to usurp his place, was N. P. Willis, "a poet, a humorist, a man of taste, culture, and travel, and withal possessed of many prominent and piquant idiosyncracies."[21] He wrote *Hurry Graphs*, *Dashes at Life With a Free Pencil*, *The Rag-Bag*, *Fun Jottings*, and other profundities, and was praised out of all reason. Verbal skyrocketings in his honor were as gaudy as dust cover blurbs. *Harpers* maintained:

No writer has so unvariedly and so entirely won the admiration of readers of the most refined sentiment and daintiest fancy. . . . He is essentially the man of genius.[22]

[19] *Fraser's Magazine*. Vol. 47. April, 1853. p. 465.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *North American Review*. Vol. 89, July, 1859. p. 274.
[22] *Harpers*. Vol. XVI, No. XCII, January, 1858. p. 166.

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. . . even the dusty roadside grows delightful under Willis's blossom-dropping pen, and when we come to the mountain and lake, it is like reveling in all the fragrant odors of Paradise.[23]

Another prominent ornament of the times was Ik Marvel who wrote *Fudge Doings* and the languishing *Reveries of a Bachelor*. He too entranced swarms of myopic adherents who credited him with opening "a new vein of gold in the literature of his country," "almost Shakespearian fidelity to nature," and "the most beautiful revelations that can be drawn from the depths of a rich experience."[24] George William Curtis crashed into favor with innocuous stories and drowsy ramblings in the *Dream Life* manner. In view of these concepts it is not surprising that the times were fruitful for the Fanny Ferns, the Grace Greenwoods, the Fanny Forresters, the Minnie Myrtles, and other feminine flora who did not assume vegetable pseudonyms but nevertheless vegetated.

Though busily writing novels they found time, alas, to dash off short stories for magazines which by midcentury had sprung to life all over the country. A few editors, like those of *Graham's* and *Fraser's*, seemed honestly bent on raising literary standards; more, like Mr. Godey, forswore standards in favor of quantity production for the benefit of the undiscriminating. Popular magazines were published by the dozen in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Even outlandish Chicago had thirteen and the Ohio valley strenuously asserted its literacy with ninety different publications.[25] Sprouting primly as "Monthlies," "Journals," or topheavy under titles like *Mirror and Ladies' Parterre* and *Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West* they flourished mushroomwise, for a brief period, and died.

Digging into these archeological remains the explorer discovers first an array of guileless titles in the best tradition of the Oliver Optic books. They might be used without change by the master minds of Hollywood. Consider: *Twice in Love, Sentiment and Action, Love Snuffed Out, How Women Love, Winifred's Vow, Rachel's Refusal, Esther Bennet's Love and Hate, Head and Heart, The Lady's Re-*

[23] *Ibid.* Vol. III, No. XIII. June, 1851. p. 140.
[24] *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. IX. January, 1851. p. 281.
[25] Tassin, Algernon. *The Magazine in America.* 1915. p. 201.

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venge, Bertha's Love, Faithful Margaret, Love's Venture, Married to the Man of Her Choice, Jessie's Courtship, Nancy Blyn's Lovers, The Fair Dona Belle. These, like old melodramas, are amusing but the tales they head up are dreary stuff. Strictly non-intoxicating, it is poured into trite molds built usually according to one of three plans, namely:

1. Lovelorn maiden pines for man who has died, who has left home to make his fortune, who has run off with another woman, who is in love with her sister, who has done none of these things but whom, for some vague reason, she will not marry. The conflict is resolved by: (a.) vague removal of the vague difficulty barring the marriage; or (b.) death of the heroine; or (c.) continued pining of the heroine and absence of the hero; or (d.) return, in the closing paragraphs, of the presumably dead, wandering, or faithless lover as alive and faithful as ever.

2. Lovelorn maiden marries young gallant only to find that he is a brute who makes her life miserable by gambling, by staying out late at night, by not going to church. Either: (a.) she dies; or (b.) he leaves her; or (c.) he is disposed of by drowning, fall from runaway horse, or a tumble off a cliff, the lady promptly marrying the man who has been patiently waiting for her all these years.

3. Haughty soulless maiden, supremely beautiful and egregiously arrogant, consistently snubs the honorable advances of eligible suitors. The snubbing goes on until she gets her come-uppance by: (a.) shattering of her pride in loss of wealth or position; or (b.) making a supposedly brilliant match that turns out badly; or (c.) desertion of discouraged suitors and last resort marriage with an also-ran; or (d.) spinsterhood with consequent bitter realization that she has allowed the prize male of the lot to escape.

Of course there are variations. Sometimes an ardent young man pines for a fair flirt who apparently bestows her smiles promiscuously. But just as the reader becomes interested in this individualist he is likely to find that she is smiling at her cousin or her husband, both entitled to receive her smiles without damage to anyone's reputation. Occasionally she turns out to be a mild sort of adventuress who reaps the just rewards of disrespectability in a bad end; or she brings the story back to brownstone tranquility by a sudden decision to marry the young man and to stop all extra-marital smiling.

When not occupied with such peccadillos fiction turns to the per-

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secuted child. Orphaned at a tender age, rescued from a sordid infancy in which she has been all but beaten and starved to death, she is an example of sweetness and light, a super-Pollyanna ready to drip scriptural texts pat to any occasion. With angelic soul, confiding eyes, and insufferable self-righteousness she lingers through tearful paragraphs and sinks into an early grave. Her sufferings are an overwrought motif played forte with the tremolo stop wide open.

So tremulous is the wavering note sounding through the eighteen fifties that writers must have written with a permanent tear in the eye, a permanent catch in the larynx. They threw over all human behavior the stagey glow of rose-colored sentimentality. Even nature served not as a realistic background but as a splendid opportunity to halt the story for a burst of florid emotion. The narrative waits while a sweet essay on sunset, winding river, November landscape is daintily penned. It seems that

> The sea floated its foam-caps upon the gray shore, and murmured its inarticulate love-stories all day to the dumb rocks above; the blue sky was bordered with saffron sunrises, pink sunsets, silver moonfringes, or spangled with careless stars; the air was full of south winds that fluttered the hearts of a thousand roses and a million violets with long, deep kisses, and then flung the delicate odors abroad to tell their exploits and set the butterflies mad with jealousy and the bees crazy with avarice.[26]

Whatever the virtues of the fifties, restraint was not one of them. Writers enthusiastically let go in all directions. They overdid handsomely by whatever they set their pens to. Pictures of nature, lavish enough, are sober compared with resplendent portraits of the marionettes that pass for human beings. Observe a stock model 1850 heroine:

> Young, beautiful, accomplished, and even learned was Miss Amarynth St. Quillotte, when she was deserted by her lover and affianced husband, Mr. Emerond, the celebrated philosopher. . . . [She had] a smooth olive skin, beneath whose deep hue burned in the velvet cheeks crimson roses; eyes large, dark, soft, and yet gleaming; hair long, flowing, silken, by the side of whose jetty luxuriance the raven's plumage would have looked brown; a form alight, elegant and thorough-bred; a mixture of Spanish and quadroon gracefulness; teeth—but there, I have no more hackneyed similes at hand; pearls will not suffice; ivory grows yellow in remembrance of those bright,

[26] "Maya, the Princess." *Atlantic Monthly*. Vol. I, No. III. January, 1858. p. 263.

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regular, dazzling teeth, which lighted the full crimson mouth, as it were, with a sunbeam.[27]

Miss Amarynth, as it happens, is something of an adventuress; consequently, by definition, she is obliged to be beautiful. But on the other hand the true-hearted and virtuous, simpering in the noble light of their own virtue, are also prodigally endowed by sappy creators. Roguishly displaying seventeen-year-old-teeth in pearly smiles they trip gayly through many a tale like an incomparable Broadway chorus every one of which is the most beautiful girl in the world. Possessed of natural charms fairer than the best efforts of the most ingenious beauty shoppe, the glorified American girl is an 1850 institution.

Miss Hallie was just sixteen and a half. Shall I draw her outline with a dash of the pen? Fancy, as our Gallic brethren say, a forest sylph, clad in a bright pink dress, defining every outline of a figure, slender, graceful, undulating . . . a rosy face full of mischief . . . the lips crimped by suppressed laughter . . . add white bare arms—a foot "like a mountain deer's" —a quantity of raven curls descending at their own wild will on the plumpest neck imaginable.[28]

The following choice specimen is only a fragment of a rhapsodic eruption of dazzling fireworks that shower stars of rhetoric over almost a page of *Godey's* fine print. Like pre-views of next week's talkies it leaves no more superlatives to conquer.

A lady entered. . . . She was young, and oh how beautiful, as the soft subdued light fell on her spiritual face and queenlike form. . . . The perfection of her beauty . . . stood revealed in the feminine curve of her delicate nostril and superbly moulded lip, and spoke out in the symmetrical eyebrow, in the noble development of her swan-like neck, and the meaning grace of her full, rounded chin . . . she was ruled by an inherent and spontaneous spirit of native dignity, which taught the beholder . . . that she on whom he gazed was a rare and peculiar specimen of womanhood, challenging the criticism of the most carping, and entrancing the senses of the beholder with that crystal adamant, a maiden's pride and purity. She stood before the eyes like a white flower, which . . . the roughest fear to touch irreverently . . . because there is a majesty in innocence, intellect, and beauty combined which awes even vice, while it commands the admiration of virtue.[29]

[27] "The Lady's Revenge." *Harpers.* Vol. X, No. LVI. January, 1855. p. 239.
[28] "The Red Bracelet." *Harpers.* Vol. XVII, No. XCIX. August, 1858, p. 349.
[29] "Charles Maitland." *Godey's Lady's Book.* May, 1858. p. 403.

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Beaten down by the fierce barrage of incredible pulchritude the reader longs mightily for the sight of a homely face. But rarely does he find it. If a writer so far forgets himself as to admit that his heroine is a little plain he richly compensates her for her plainness.

Rachel was a singular compound—she was neither beautiful nor pretty, but peculiarly attractive . . . [she was] tall, slight, at times haughty; yet free and careless in action as a deer; eyes that oftenest spoke the soul of softness, yet forever changeful, could burn with passion, flash with anger, or crystallize with scorn; a head powerful and noble; a figure transfused into gracefulness by the power of vivid emotions; a voice that vibrated to every thought within.[30]

Brunettes are strong, silent, often sinister; blondes are ethereal, effervescent, brittle, agog to fall in swoons on convenient sofas. Ever and anon occur lyrical references to "resonant" voices, "dark and unfathomable" eyes, "sun-tinted, forest-shadowed" complexions, "pure, transparent" natures, "flashing orbs," "beautifully rounded" forms, "glowing" cheeks, foreheads "white as marble." Of "handsome," "gorgeous," "elegant" there is no end. The beauty fixation makes queens of uncomely spinsters, jaunty Don Juans of thieves, Byrons of actors, Apollos of everything in trousers.

Turn we now to our traveller. Tall, athletic, and well-formed, with laughing blue eyes and clustering brown curls upon his noble brow, he was a specimen of manly beauty.[31]

Transposed into action the fixation appears as a wholesale grace of manner. A favorite mode of doing things is the "dashing" mode. People walk with a dashing stride, ride horse-back in a dashing way, write letters in dashing hands, woo in dashing style, live their whole lives, some of them, just so. They are as lissom as deer, as quick and airy as birds, as lithe and powerful as lions. And when they open their mouths to speak they stalk downstage to fling sonorous sentences in the manner of an old tragedian delivering a soliloquy. Listen to the turgid words of a young man in love:

"I know I have been presuming, impertinent, audacious, in thus intruding

30 "Rachel's Refusal." *Harpers.* Vol. XV, No. XC. November, 1857. p. 797.
31 "Principle." *Godey's Lady's Book.* August, 1859. p. 126.

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myself upon you, and acknowledge that you would be but severely just in banishing me instantly from your bright presence, and in withdrawing from me forever the light of your adorable eyes. Oh those eyes," he continued, clasping his hands in an ecstasy of loverlike enthusiasm,—"those wild, sweet orbs! Can they not quicken even as they slay? Oh, gentle lady, be like her of Verona!—be gracious, be kind, or, at least, be merciful, and do not banish me!—

'For exile hath more terror in his look,
Much more, than death; do not say banishment!' "[32]

The lady could hardly refuse to applaud such a fine peroration. More ante-bellum amour:

"Leon—Leon," she whispered. "What madness is this?"

"Chide me not, dearest," he replied as he clasped her to his breast, "could I know that the noblest and bravest in Genoa were this night paying homage to its fairest flower, nor seek to win one smile for myself?"

"But you have enemies here, dear Leon; depart quickly, I pray. You need no fresh assurance of my affection."

"No, lovely one," replied the youth proudly. "I both believe and trust you. I know that although the highest in Genoa sighs for her love, the daughter of the Marchese Albertini prefers above them all the adoration of Leon Carlemonte. And see," he continued, as he took an ebony cross of exquisite workmanship from his vest and placed it in the hands of Adeline, "I am come likewise to offer you a tribute on your birthday; and a suitable one, is it not, sweet, for one so pure and guileless? You will prize it, although no brilliants glitter round it, and when you think of him who gave it, breathe a prayer for him when he shall be far hence."[33]

A short and decisive dialogue plainly setting forth the penalty for skepticism in the eighteen fifties:

With her whole frame trembling with emotion, Alice lifted a mental prayer for strength, and answered gently, but firmly: "Arthur, I have resolved, and nothing shall move me. The 'narrow road' I find it hard to keep, even in my humble village home. I dare not venture my feeble faith amid the gayeties of army life, with him whom I love, neither loving nor acknowledging my Maker. Strictly and piously educated I have been taught that

'The meanest pin in nature's frame
Marks out some letter in His name';

and to my faith I will cling."

[32] "Zelma's Vow." *Atlantic Monthly*. Vol. IV, No. XXI. July, 1859. pp. 80–81.

[33] "The Promise Redeemed." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Vol. II. November 24, 1869. p. 11.

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"Well, Alice, you have dashed from my lips the cup of happiness, just as I was about to taste it. You doom me to despair. Desolate and miserable, I will at once quit this place which I entered a gay light-hearted man. My heart and hopes are both alike withered," and the strong man in his agony shed tears of bitter sorrow."[34]

An oration evidently charted with notes and gestures:

"Not attend the most splendid party of the season! Why, Rose Traverse, are you crazy? Stay at home, indeed, and give your famous rival, Rose Arlington, a chance to captivate your handsome Ernest? Rose, she is perfectly lovely —not *your* noble beauty, darling—but a tiny, blue-eyed, golden-haired fairy, beautiful as rose-tinted evening clouds, or like one of those glorious crimson and gold sunsets we saw last year in the land of sunny skies—bright Italia. But pshaw! Rose, I cannot be poetical. I have mentioned the two most beautiful things my eyes ever rested upon and now am at the 'end of my string,' always excepting the beautiful slumbrous light in your own glorious dark eyes, darling. What ails your eyes tonight, Rose Traverse? Their look is wierd [sic] and unearthly."[35]

These are the accents of the bloodless bookish. They engage in absurdly romantic goings-on that are ridiculously sexless and completely maddening. Consideration of a few dozen of these pale flowers of the imagination forces the unescapable conclusion that the eighteen fifties were in favor not of Poe's unity of effect but rather of unanimity of effect—the effect of boredom. It is all as safe and bland as a cup of weak tea. For the historian and for the casual reader willing to be amused by foibles he knows he has comfortably outgrown, the scribbling women and accompanying male sissies of the feminine decade contribute a museum piece, a literary knicknack to excite momentary curiosity like the whatnot full of carved seashells, china figures, yarn mottoes, and wax flowers under glass.

[34] "Principle." *Godey's Lady's Book*. August, 1859. p. 126.
[35] "The War of the Roses." *Godey's*. September, 1863. p. 217.

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Has Capitalism Failed?

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WHETHER capitalism has failed is a problem that cannot be answered with a simple yes or no; not because the question is meaningless or because the answer is impossible but because the problem does not lead to a short and ready solution. It involves an analysis which is tiresome to people who believe that the social sciences should produce easy formulas, sweet and convenient drugs against all evils. But capitalism is the result of a complicated and protracted historical process and cannot be dismissed with a monosyllable.

The church controled all of life in the Middle Ages. In economic activities its opposition to the payment of interest, although justified perhaps for consumers' credit, was too perverse to meet the necessities for capital in a dynamic system. The state also was authoritarian and static, if the concept of state can be used for the very loose political structures of the Middle Ages. It aimed at an even balance of social powers and interests and acknowledged the autonomous right of every "estate" to organize and set up a perfect order of production. Prices were determined in strict relation to costs and costs themselves were determined, in so far as the organization had the power to do it—by the regulation of wages, for example. This was especially apparent in the towns, which could almost be considered states in themselves. Outside the towns feudalism was the framework for a thoroughgoing hierarchy, binding particularly upon the peasants, who were not allowed to leave the land. Thus through the church, the pseudo-political urban guilds, and the institution of feudalism, "harmony" was maintained throughout the whole social structure by habit as well as by force, but force was undoubtedly the stronger element.

Looking backward to the flow of the past three or four centuries it would be idle if not impossible to speculate on the nature of a world in which this medieval feudal economy was replaced by another system which, although developing on the basis of natural resources,

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was nevertheless not capitalistic. Nor could the feudal organization have been maintained. That pre-capitalistic European world with its restrictions on human activities, with its tendency to stabilize the human mind, with its old order of social hierarchy, was doomed to give way once the vast possibilities of new inventions and new discoveries revealed the ideal of freedom, thus unchaining the irresistible forces of the dynamic European mind.

It was the interests of trade, shipping, and, later, of industry that finally broke the old order and induced the state to lead the fight of strong individuals against frozen and crystallized tradition. Out of this attack emerged a new state built on a new economy and a new social structure. But this breaking away from medieval fetters still did not mean freedom in the sense, let us say, of the eighteenth century. It meant at first freedom for monopolies, privileged by the state; it meant a feudal capitalism embarking on adventures of discovery, an audacious, fighting capitalism, drawing its profits from the conquest of undeveloped foreign countries, from warfare. It was not at all concerned with the social problem; improving the standard of living was not its task. The wealth of the nation was not the wealth or the purchasing power of the masses. On the contrary, extreme poverty seemed to be the necessary counterpart to national wealth. It was only later that capitalism evolved the ideals of individual liberty, humanitarianism, respect for personal rights, which are the essence of democracy. Economic theory, originated during the so-called industrial revolution, was connected from its very beginning with ideas of perfect social harmony. It envisaged an international order, based on a common currency, free trade, free movement of population and capital, which would gradually reduce and finally destroy the meaning of national boundaries and would bring about a decent standard of living for all, once the necessary capital was accumulated and all productive powers developed on the basis of modern technique. This process reflected itself in the mind of the age as a spiritual movement for liberty.

But capitalism has not realized this ideal. Indeed, all the goals for which the capitalistic principle stood at its beginning are being fought for again today—especially personal freedom, liberty, and free trade, which were the very basis of this idyl in which mankind once put its hopes. Are the capitalists to blame? What is the root of our present

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situation in which mankind in the very midst of plenty and wealth is threatened by a social catastrophe, unable to handle the machinery it has built up?

I do not believe that capitalism has failed through a lack of moral forces. On the contrary it was not until the capitalistic period, with its establishment of a new leisure class, that true humanitarianism and the social idealism which concedes the right of tolerable existence to all human beings, champions the cause of those who for whatever reason are oppressed, and is prepared to fight for freedom, even if it is against the material interest of the idealists themselves, came into being. Moreover the complex sensitivity, appreciation of nature, overtones of feeling, that are characteristic of the modern man and constitute the basis of modern humanitarianism could evolve only with the rise of the bourgeoisie, which universalized a delicacy of perception existing in the pre-capitalistic period only in the narrow circles of refined and artistic society. In short, the general respect for man is a new attitude, and it could evolve only on the basis of the capitalistic structure. In judging capitalism it would not be fair to overlook this rise of ethical feelings and standards.

But the rise of capitalism has meant the creation of a huge machine in the service of which the individual is chained. There is little room left for independent decision; people have to accept work wherever and in whatever form it is offered by the economic system. Even for white collar workers and scientists the number that are wanted, the kind of work they can have, depend entirely on what can be produced and sold. The huge organization of modern enterprise makes it hopeless for a man to set out alone and fight for his own business as he could have done, especially in this country, fifty years ago. Paradoxically the state, which at the beginning was asked in the interest of individual freedom to leave capitalism to its own devices, is asked today in the interest of individual freedom to intervene and rescue freedom from the automatic forces of business. But the state itself is only the concentration of principal social forces and therefore in the grip of the same anonymous powers against which it is called to act. It can direct the struggle only to the extent that public opinion becomes permeated and transformed by a renewed ideal of economic freedom and develops political forces to achieve it.

This new battle for freedom, individual life, independence, is not

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a fight between two types of men, between tyrants of business on the one hand and apostles of freedom on the other. There are many capitalists, even large scale producers, who are in entire sympathy with the struggle of the little man. At the bottom of the present economic and social crisis are the structural contradictions within capitalism. Modern production is based on modern technique, modern technique requires huge investments, the invested capital has to bear interest and in addition earn the costs of depreciation. All of that requires a continuous growth of output. This process depends on two conditions: sufficient increase in consumers' purchasing power to absorb the steadily growing flow of commodities; and, for the producers, a margin between prices and costs, in other words between receipts and wages. Such a complicated and sensitive system will work only if safety valves are available, such as foreign investments, or promising opportunities for new investments at home—let us say for a growing population or for new industries—so that home purchasing power may be supplemented. Even under the most favorable conditions, however, the producer is not a free man; he has to obey the commands of his enterprise, and in his fight for his short-run interests and for his very existence he is bound to oppose the workers' and often the consumers' interest. Hence the social tension which is characteristic of all times of bad business; hence the embittered social battles in which both producers and workers are gripped and for which they can find no solution.

In this situation, with its rigidity of prices and production, with its dangerous incompetence for quick adjustments, it has been contended that tariffs and laws working for or at least admitting capitalistic monopolies are a particularly harmful factor. The ill effects of tariffs should not be minimized but it remains true that even without their help the trend of events is working toward a rapid concentration of capital and a growing rapprochement between great enterprises. This is already apparent in the great international cartels. And similarly the prohibition or regulation of cartels and trusts cannot recreate a milieu of free competition. Imperialism, which is the result of tariffs and private monopolies and involves the greatest danger for individual liberty, is not solely an economic product, but it is inconceivable that imperialism could develop without the real or supposed interests of big business to back it.

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In view of the trend that technical progress has taken in the last decades and the results that are bound to follow from big business and concentration of capital I believe that the only possibility of making the modern economic system panic-proof and of saving it from the disastrous social consequences of repeated breakdown is to set up an adequate machinery for planning. This can be done only through institutions which can serve as the center of a new economic structure and as the training ground for the economic man of the future. Such institutions—as, for example, central banks and state-owned railways, industries, public utilities—have been developing for decades; they can be used now as the nucleus for planned efforts. Their leading managers and officials are, by the very nature of their work, not of the old individualistic type, they must of necessity think in terms of the whole system, they are necessarily familiar with the problems of planning. Under such direction institutions of this kind can lead our social system toward a new economic order.

Certainly such an attempt to attain a planned economic system would be confronted with serious difficulties. Capitalism is based on private ownership in business, and entrepreneurs are not likely to accept in a spirit of altruism the losses that might be entailed in the decisions of a planning board. To be sure, even without the intervention of planning they often suffer heavy losses because of decisions, beyond their control, of other entrepreneurs. Capitalistic economics has its cemeteries, and they are full of victims slain by technical progress, by over-investment, by sudden changes in fashion, by the mischances of the business cycle. But in our present economic system such casualties are part of the game and since their origin is anonymous no individual can be held responsible, while in an ordered economy losses and inconveniences can be blamed on the planning board. And it is not only a question of losses. If the planning board should decide to apply a brake to the quick increase of business activity—a procedure that would be one of its main tasks—its action would be opposed not only by the entrepreneurs but also by the workers since wages could not then increase during the upswing as fast as they otherwise would. In making such decisions a planning board must prepare its program with extreme care and make sure that public opinion is ready to accept it. But this is no impossible task. With the concentration of power and knowledge at the disposal of a modern government

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the public can be brought, through a constant, thoroughgoing process of education, to understand the aims of planning. In this way too both entrepeneurs and workers would have to be taught the necessity of so regulating and controling production in good times as to avoid the slump and breakdown, which would wipe out all profits anyway. Naturally no planning board, however inclusive its operations, can regulate all branches and units of production. But the more industries are permitted to move on their own path the greater are the dangers that the order may be upset. Therefore it is essential that the planning structure be of a kind that sets limits to boundless and dangerous movements of private activity while at the same time it leaves business sufficient freedom for its minor decisions.

So far, working within a highly organized and still unruly capitalism, we have taken only the first steps toward a planned economic system. Limiting credit expansion during the upswing is of paramount importance, but this can no longer be done simply by playing with the interest rate and by open market operations. Stronger measures are necessary. Those industries which lead during the boom must be controled and if necessary checked; investments which cannot pay and which only debase or depreciate old investments must be prohibited. A consequence of this course would be a reduction in the current interest rate for long-term investment and therefore a premium on the production of lasting consumers' goods, especially of houses. Probably it would mean also a slower rise in the upswing, although not any diminution of ultimate development. Such policies can never be a matter of routine; they require a fine instinct for the possibilities of growth, a constant vigilance against the influence of shortsighted business interests.

Also they would be opposed, but they represent the probable trend of development in any case. The only choice for the entrepreneur lies between the likelihood of deeper disturbances in the future and the acceptance of reduced interest rates and reduced incomes. Once again a ruling class is confronted with the prospect of a shrinking income, and this in spite of increasing wealth, in spite of greater efficiency of production. It faces no enemy but the automatic forces which work against it from within its own creation.

The "communistic danger" is only the social and political expression of the fact that the situation is not accepted by capitalism for

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what it is. In order to maintain its power, its private ownership, its profit system, capitalism wages a shortsighted struggle against the masses, but it is fighting windmills. The fight of capitalists against the workers' demand for higher wages, or for the maintenance of money wages when prices fall, is motivated—so far as it is rational—by reasons which are obsolete today. It is an acquired habit which persists although conditions have changed. It developed at a time when the capital accumulated in a few countries was not sufficient for the needs of all countries in building up the machinery of our modern economic system—its industries, railways, roads, public utilities, even its cities with their millions of people to house and transport—at a time when a considerable part of the accumulated capital and of the working time available was directed toward the production of consumers' goods for the rich leisure classes, at a time when nearly all the capital accumulated was easily invested and only a very small part of producing power—capital as well as workers—was employed in mass production for the poorer strata of society. Higher wages then meant a brake on development and every reduction in wages could be used for more and better equipment, thus promoting the growth of the economic system. But today a cut in wages works in the opposite direction. It goes without saying that in an economic system with huge mass production, with few outlets for capital export, with few fields for new investments, the whole development depends on increasing purchasing power. Hence it is impossible that a reduction in wages can lead to prosperity. Under conditions as they exist today the only alternative is a far-reaching reduction in interest rates, and this is as obnoxious as higher wages.

It is this dilemma that provides the psychological conditions for fascism. Democracy, it is contended, is not compatible with present-day capitalism. It was satisfactory enough when production was expanding easily and employment conditions were favorable. Today a "strong hand" is necessary, for that alone can master the situation. But capitalism will not attain from fascism what it expects. Even the "strong hand" cannot change the necessities of the situation; it cannot escape the consequences of wage cuts, or discover new fields of investment if none exists. Fascism cannot reproduce the situation of the nineteenth century, which is its aim in spite of all its antiliberal and romantic tendencies. It seeks a prosperity that grew out of cir-

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cumstances no longer existent, representing perhaps the last attempt to maintain old-fashioned economics. But it too will lead to an impasse, in which economic activity is deadlocked. The futility of its aims once proved, the world may recognize the necessity for a planning system in which production, directed and controled, will be adapted to the needs of consumers and balanced with their desire for leisure and cultural development. No cultural development is possible under fascism, with its suppression of public and individual opinion, its permanent boredom, its disguised or even open state-slavery, its lack of any conditions for steady development. Planning is not compatible with state-slavery. It rests on personal freedom, which alone allows the necessary flexibility in its work of replacing the spontaneous forces of individuals in free competition by free but concerted public action. This once achieved we shall be on the threshold of a new period, on the threshold of a new economic system in which society will seize the helm again to save what capitalism has achieved and to achieve what capitalism, by its very nature, could not attempt.

Blue Windflower

ETHEL ROMIG FULLER

THE mountain road was steep and hazardous;
"We'll stop and let the engine cool," you said.
This was the moment I first saw the trail,
Felt its lure, heard its low insistent call.
And nothing suddenly was so important
As this dim-patterned path and where it led.
"Why not smoke and rest," I queried, "while I walk?"
And slipped away before you negatived
The plan—two on a trail are sometimes one

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Too many . . . the fir boughs closed behind me
Like green gates, and shut me in with silence
So deep it pulsed in rhythms on my heart. . . .

I went slowly, savoring the vistas;
The canopy upheld by columned boles,
And thought, though but half-conscious of the thought,
Upon the feet that once had worn the trail—
If moccasined or booted; deer or bear—
Not that it really mattered—enough for me
It was, and I there on it, going down
A zigzag way through banks of pink twin-flowers
Whose fragrance, mingled with the rosin spice
Was subtle as the incense in a mosque.
Dusk had come already to these aisles
Where sunlight slanting through turned space
To emerald transparency, gold-flecked.
The evening antiphony of thrushes
Was begun . . . the path became a shadow
Winding through a maze of shadows,
And lost so easily, I must often stop
For searching out its dim emergence from
A copse of sword ferns, or a prone fir log
On whose decay a fairy forest throve—
Painted lichens, huckleberry, mossy fronds;
From hollows, waxen-glazed with Indian pipes . . .
A series of cascades strung on a strand
Of water, tinkled frailly as glass bells . . .
A moth lit on a spray of columbine
That swung a scarlet lantern in the gloom . . .
A gnome-faced ginger flower crept from the mold. . . .

And when the spell was perfect, then the trail,
As if its work accomplished, disappeared—
A bog caught at, and held, the fraying ends—
And left me quite alone—and quite content
To be alone—down in a canyon's depths.
I leaned against an alder, my flushed cheek

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Blue Windflower

Pressed closely to its mottled, cool, cool bark;
My eyes upraised to where turquoises chipped
From summer sky were set into the swaying crown,
And sensing, as I saw one sere leaf fall,
And marked the time of its slow downward flight,
How deep an alder's roots must go in silence
To so uphold its head among the stars . . .

And then I was aware that I had come
But to recover something I had lost—
Nor knew that I had lost until this hour;
And which the canyon held in trust for me—
The canyon, cowled in shadows, purple-black—
Its voice brook water, bird songs, wind in leaves,
And for the stillness, now articulate—
"Child, keep this evermore within your heart . . ."

You would have chidden me, on my return,
But for the radiance upon my face,
And for the strange flower fastened to my breast—
"A blue anemone!" you cried, amazed;
Although none could have been more so than I,
Who had not known a blue windflower before,
Nor yet how this frail loveliness was mine.
"A blue anemone," you said again. "A guerdon," I replied.
You smiled as one who gives way to a whim,
And knocked the ashes from your pipe. "Let's go,"
You said, "or we will not be making camp by dark."

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On the Contented Life

EDGAR A. SINGER, JR.
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CONSISTENTLY from its beginnings human thought has returned to a question to which everyone would willingly know the answer—to which above all others everyone would gladly know the answer: "How may one lead the most contented life and resign oneself to a least reluctant death?" At the end of some millenia of recorded effort none has found the answer, or if any have, yet none has been found to agree with him. A subject with such an unsavory history might well, you would say, be excluded from polite conversation, but life is not polite—it insists that those who would give the matter no thought at least give their lives to an experiment on whose outcome others may think. If it were certain that one's best chance of living in content and dying in resignation was to live without thought and die without reflection these silent practical mortals would have on their side all the argument of taste and of wisdom. But those unconvinced on the point will still think over at times a matter that so much concerns them, and though too uncertain of their conclusions to offer them to another, will sometimes hold conversation with themselves, each taking such counsel as he can with that counselor who will have most to pay should there be any mistake in the matter. Such a soliloquy is this which is here jotted down. None who is looking for gospel will be wise to concern himself with so unillumined a groping; its uncertain way will lie through logical classes and historical examples on to tentative conclusions. And if the record of these searchings has been thought worth preserving for a moment it is for reasons of the moment. "I sit," says one of our day, "with old shattered tables of the law about me—and with new tables, too, half made out." We all do. It is the moment to think aloud.

But then, however resigned our modern may be to think things out for himself, there is no reason why he should forego the help of those who have gone before. History is nothing but a record of hard-won

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experience and not the least valuable gain of this experience is its store of disillusionment: let us by all means learn what we can from the mistakes of the past. Or rather, to be less ultimate in our judgment of the true and the false, let us estimate as well as we can the eliminations effected by history itself as its thought grows more experienced. Fortunately for one who would be brief in such an undertaking there is a simple device by which one may exhaust the lessons of history without going to school to all that bitter experience from which these lessons were learned. This device, which one might call the logico-historical method, is content to allow logic to exhaust by successive "dichotomies" the possibilities open to opinion in a given domain of thought, and thereafter to search the pages of history for examples of such possibilities as have been actually entertained. In this way a rapid survey of the past may at least catalogue those earlier views which, one after another, reflection will have discarded till very few remain worthy of further study. From these one's own thought must make its selection or else be led on to consider possibilities new to history though well defined by logic.

Of course the annoying part of being in any sense historical on any sort of topic is the necessity one is under to submit for a while one's taste in idioms to the actual usages of the past. Thus it is no matter of our own preference if to follow the course of opinion on the subject of the contented life we are forced to speak, as history has spoken, of things "good" and things "evil": of the good a life must seek, the evil it must shun, "if it would be truly blessed." How the two terms, *goodness* and *contentment*, should have come to be connected is readily to be imagined: every one is willing to admit that such things as promise a man contentment will seem good to him, but who has not wondered at times why it so seldom happens that what has seemed good to a man will be found to bring him contentment? This at any rate is a matter about which history has greatly wondered; and to one who has thought on the problem nothing could be more intelligible than the historic part played by a very simple suggestion: what if there were several kinds of *good*, some contenting, some not? But this bit of history imposes a certain order of procedure on any logico-historical analysis: from the outset a logical mind reflecting on history will naturally devote itself to the progressive classification and historical illustration of the various *goods*, to seek or to abide by one

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or another of which has been taken at one time or another to be the way of contentment.

And so, to make a beginning—a convenient rather than a forced one—any definition of *the good* must do one of two things: it must either imply or not imply reference to *an end and a means*. So much in the way of classification logic alone may effect, but only the historian can say which of these possibilities the thought of the past has accepted, or whether its opinion lies divided between the two. He will, in fact, find the latter to have been the case; and will have found the alternative ways of defining to have been called from an early day the "teleological" and the "ateleological" respectively. For reasons that will appear as we advance, we may let the historian provide us first with examples of "ateleological goods."

These *ateleological goods* are the easiest of all to find, for they cost no thought to formulate and still less to follow: together they make up the world's treasure of maxims. "Let justice be done though the heavens fall" the Roman saying had it, and no wording could have been better conceived to bring out the virtue to which all maxims pretend—that of setting forth practices universally good: not good as means to one end and not to another, nor yet ends for which now one means and now another is good, but practices certain to be good "whatever happens." Primitive taboos, sacred customs, decalogues, unwritten laws of heaven, categorical imperatives are all of this character; they all purport to be universal and necessary rules of conduct issued in the name of virtue or of piety or of both. The authority accorded them by the mind accepting them never differs greatly from that acknowledged by Antigone in her hour of trial: all that man may devise "must yield unto the changeless, unwritten word of God; for this is not of today or yesterday, but lives forever; and no man knows when first it came to be." As for the theory of contentment that goes with this conception of purposeless goodness, Antigone again best suggests the essence of it: *not* to live by the unwritten word is to suffer an inner discontent so incurable that a life lived in the torment of it would not be worth the living.

Of the many simplicities and sincerities of the past there is none the modern mind feels itself more confidently to have outlived than such as seek contentment in a life of obedience to purposeless laws, laws for which no more can be said than that "no man knows when

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first they came to be" or why or wherefore. To more experienced thought the whole history of the part played by such laws (written or unwritten) in the lives of men is likely to be viewed as presenting a problem of interest to the anthropologist and psychologist, but to no other. In so far as these scientists have found explanation for the phenomena involved, the origin of the law and of the fear to break it are given a common reason: the law represents a general principle of practice that once served the common purpose of those who felt bound to observe it. Their bondage, enforced by social sanctions slow to change, long outlived the purpose that bound them, with consequences anything but happy to those whose morality must in the end have become an inexplicable slavery. Evidently this explanation will hold as true of the "moral bondage" of today as of any that ever withheld the past from intelligent self-emancipation. So far as one can observe, the faith that still abides in inviolable principles is a source of anything but content, even to those who live by it.

Suppose then that at the risk of having overlooked some invisible truth we follow the modern mind in dismissing ateleological goods in general, their interest to contentment in particular: what remains? There remains of course the whole theory of *teleological goods* and of such contentment as may depend on the pursuit of these. But here again our logico-historical method suggests a division of the subject. For logic at once perceives that any definition of *the good* in terms of *end and means* must either imply or not imply some goodness to attach to ends. But if, having made this dichotomy, the logician turn to the historian to find which of these alternative possibilities has appealed to the thought of the past he will find the past to have been perfectly familiar with both. Of these two historic ways we follow first the one that admits of no distinction between *good and bad ends* but only of a comparison between *better and worse means*. It is the thought of a philosophy which, in a phrase popular in our day, restricts all values to "instrumental" values.

Here it should be clear from the outset that no one doubts or has ever doubted the significance to life of instrumental values; the only question is as to whether or not these are the only values to which we can give clear definition, to whose measurements we can apply empirical methods. If they are, the task of the philosopher in determining the good things of life is singularly simplified. Professionally

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interested in finding the way in which questions may be answered rather than in answering them himself, your philosopher is most at his ease in presence of an issue whose decision he sees to be well within the reach of experimental method, and such no doubt is the question as to which of two means is the better adapted to its end. Let there be two swords of different design; let them be distributed in equal numbers among contestants of equal skill, contending on equal terrains; let victory follow the one, defeat the other design; all will concede the sword of victory to be the better sword—the better instrument, therefore, for the winning of a duel. Or suppose two tradesmen, otherwise alike and similarly placed in their communities, to be the one honest, the other dishonest; suppose the honest type to be for the most part prosperous, the dishonest not; all will concede "honesty to be the best policy"—the better instrument, that is, to the end of business success. In general, if philosophy could convince itself that life presented no issue between good and evil save such as turned on a choice between better means and worse, it could leave all practical questions of value to the care of the statistician; it could probably do more, it might readily develop a theory of contentment to fit its theory of values. Very plausibly, it might suggest that the contentment to be experienced at any moment of life was proportionate to that moment's assurance of success in some given undertaking—*what* the undertaking would matter not at all. When then youth should enquire of wisdom the way to a contented life, wisdom would understand the questioner to mean (according to the context), "What is my best means for becoming a great general or statesman or financier or what not?" The answer might still be difficult to find, but the approved way of looking for it would be simple to prescribe: let youth consult statistics and let each pursue that course which statistics show to have produced, under conditions the like of those he faces, the maximum number of the sort of things he thinks he wants to be. One sees at once the attraction to an empirically-minded age of a philosophy that will hear of no other goodness than such as pertains to good means, no other contentment than such as is proportionate to prospect of success. Moreover, when one thinks how many of our worried moments are moments whose only matter of worry is a question of ways and means one wonders whether all our discontents may not reduce to just this one: the lack of such means as would give fair

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promise of success to our several undertakings. One wonders, in short, whether the "instrumentalist" (as we may call him) be not justified in supposing the betterment of life to be purely a question of providing life with instruments better fitted to its ends; ends of which none is better than another and none worse.

What makes one pause is a matter of old experience, an experience we might call the "melancholy of success." There was once a Preacher "that was king over Israel in Jerusalem"; this king was a man of great works; he built him houses, planted him vineyards, made gardens and orchards and pools of water to water them, got him servants and maidens, gathered great possessions of great and small cattle, also silver and gold and the peculiar treasure of kings, got him men singers and women singers and the delights of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts. A marvelously strong and successful man, a man of endless undertakings; a man who might be called the master "pluralist" of history. And if one would know what contentment he found in this his masterful way of life, he tells it: "His heart rejoiced in all his labor; and this was his portion of all his labor"; namely, to see one thing after another moving on to completion—which is exactly as it should be, from the "instrumentalist" point of view. Here you have a perfectly successful man, to whom means were never failing to do one thing after another, all "great works." Why should not the heart of him rejoice in all his labor, never labored in vain? It did, he tells us; and then he tells us it did not: the first while the work was a-doing, the second when it was done. "*Then*," he writes:

> I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on all the labor that I had labored to do: and, behold, it was all vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun. . . .
>
> Therefore I hated life; because the work that is wrought under the sun is grievous to me: for all is vanity and vexation of spirit.

This melancholy of the successful man, whatever its cause may be, is evidently not to be relieved by any bettering of the means by which life may pursue its ends; this sadness is not the sadness of one who has failed for lack of resources but of one whose means have proven all too adequate to his ends; they have enabled him to multiply his vanities and increase his matters of vexation. Unless then the trouble

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of this thoughtful spirit is peculiar to a soul the like of which will never return to this earth it should be a mood permanent to all the ages to follow, however progressive their technique. It is—only, as one might expect, your later ecclesiast will have learned to generalize the picture; no longer need his melancholy wait till all is done; no longer may his heart enjoy in prospect all that in retrospect it must contemn; he will have learned to reflect on the whole, even as he labors on the part. At a certain moment one finds him, with the "sense of the whole" upon him, comparing life to a "course we must unceasingly run, a path of glowing coals with a few cool places here and there; so that he who is entangled in illusion is consoled by the cool places on which he stands or which he sees near him, and sets out to run the course; but he who sees through the veil of Maya and *recognizes the whole*, is no longer susceptible of such consolation; *he sees himself at all places at once*—and withdraws."

No, these matters have not changed with the progress of time, nor will they ever. What has changed with time is maturity of reflection, and with what result? To the discontent of those whose will is defeated, reflection has added the melancholy of those whose will is fulfilled—or imagines itself fulfilled—to its no greater comfort. Nor, to the reflective mind, could improvement of humanity's tools have any other effect on the future of humanity's state than to promote an increasing number from the ranks of the discontented to the order of the melancholy. One is therefore tempted to conclude in the matter of an instrumentalist philosophy that in his desire to remain empirical in all his conception of goodness, the instrumentalist will have largely overlooked the empirical meaning of contentment. At all events, the logic of the situation is clear: either one must reaffirm the instrumentalist premise, that all goods are but good means to ends in themselves indifferent, and thereafter explain as best one can such evidence as goes to show how little contentment need increase with increase of these values; or one must turn to an alternative premise not yet examined. What this alternative is, has already been stated: it is the premise of those teleologists who recognize *a difference of value not only in means but in ends*. Let history turn to that chapter.

At the very opening of the chapter one meets a question that may make one wonder why its pages should ever have been written, or, if

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written, how they could record any matter other than the history of an illusion. "My son," says the God of the *Imitatio*, "I should be thy supreme and ultimate end, if thou would be truly blessed." No end could offer itself in a more definite way as above all others good and above all others contenting. But how can this "supreme end" demonstrate its claims; how is any end to be proven "higher" or "lower" than another? One may wonder. In spite of our continual reference to "lofty ambitions," "high ideals," "best of motives," and the like, it has generally been found easier to explain why one man will make one end his good, another man another, than to understand how any man can prove any end to be better or worse than any other end. This is the point made by our instrumentalists; and it is a substantial point. As has been seen, there is no difficulty save a practical one in determining which of two means is the better—it is the one better calculated to bring about a certain result taken to be an end. But how determine the better of two ends? If it be said (as à Kempis seems to say) that the better of two ends is the one rather to be pursued for the sake of "true blessedness," is not this to make contentment an end with respect to which the so-called better end is in reality but a better means? The argument would be conclusive if nothing was to be judged good "for the sake of" something other than itself, save what was judged to be good "as means to the end of attaining" the something-other in question. But is this the case? One may have counted to six for the sake of counting to twelve, but is counting to six a means to the end of counting to twelve? No, a means is always a something better or worse than some alternative thing; but for one who would pick a dozen, there is no alternative to the need of first having picked half-a-dozen. One must then distinguish between two quite different things: the one, "fulfilling a condition necessary to a result"; the other, "employing a means favorable to an end." When the result is also an end both the fulfilling of necessary conditions and the employing of suitable means will have been undertaken "for the sake of" the end-result. The court that has picked six jurymen has done so for the sake of finding twelve and its work will have gone for nothing should the remaining six be not forthcoming. It has fulfilled a necessary condition. The law in requiring a panel to be drawn, from which jurymen shall be picked, is no less prescribing a task to be performed for the sake of an end (the same end, indeed, of finding

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twelve good men and true), but in so doing it has merely preferred one of several alternative ways favorable to this result. It has provided means to an end. It is, then, meaningful enough (whether true or not) to pretend that of two objectives, A and B, A is an *end* the pursuit of which is a condition indispensable to contentment, while B is a *means* to neglect which may lessen one's chance without killing one's hope of contentment. With this distinction in mind, between means and necessary condition, it is easy to understand certain historic wordings: any end whose pursuit is deemed a condition necessary to contentment will generally be called *a good end;* any good end recognized to be without rival will generally be called *the good;* any good taken to be a condition not only necessary but sufficient to contentment will readily become the *God* of a theological system. It is as such a *good* that the *God* of the *Imitatio* claims the service of all who "would be truly blessed."

No, the thought that contentment is not proportionate to the excellence of means alone, but is dependent on the choice of end as well, is not unintelligible, but what can be said for its truth? This remains to be seen and to this end it will be well to continue in our logico-historical method; the dichotomous procedure that has helped us so rapidly to eliminate from further discussion those suggestions of history that history itself has outgrown may serve us again. Thus it is always permissible, whether helpful or not, to distinguish ends into two classes; those *attainable* and those not *attainable.* But in fact this classification of all ends, from one or the other of whose classes any *good end* must be chosen, is most helpful to the reviewer of history; it enables him to express concisely the difference between two conceptions of contentment, of which one may be called the *traditional,* the other (in a sense later to be examined), the *modern.* But, whether it represent a change of mind or only a difference of minds, the contrast of opinion between those who would accept the first and those who would support the second of the following propositions has all the completeness of a logical contradiction; namely, these propositions:

1. There is *an end* to attain which is a condition sufficient to contentment (and means to this end are always to be found).

2. There is *no end* to attain which is a condition sufficient to contentment (and only a contentment consistent with this negative prin-

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ciple is reasonably to be sought). In the philosophy of the *Imitatio* one recognizes an opinion of the first class: God, or his Heaven, is the one end to attain which is to find sure contentment; the best means to this end is the matter of the whole work. But the class of opinion to which this belongs is no more peculiar to an à Kempis than to a Plato, to an Aristotle, to most extant religions, to the majority of men of our day; a list long enough, surely, to justify the adjective *traditional* as distinguishing the first opinion from the second, whose *modernity* will presently force itself upon our attention.

But if this second thesis is distinctively modern it is so only in the generality of its denials. It is in fact no more than a modern generalization of that old despair of finite ends to which our Preacher of long ago was so completely prey. No one more than this man could have exhausted the possibilities of work, none could have ended in firmer conviction of the vanity of all works. Neither in all his hands had wrought, nor in aught they might have wrought was there profit under the sun. Modernity, with all its Schopenhauers, Leopardis, Tchekoffs, von Hofmannsthals, has added nothing to the range and vigor of the Ecclesiast's contempt for earthly ambitions. What modernity has ventured that lay perhaps beyond the Ecclesiast's vision, that lay certainly beyond the imagination of countless generations of men, is a generalization. If for the older wisdom there was no profit, no contentment, to be had from any man's work under the sun, for the newer there is no more to be hoped for from any man's fate after sunset. A like reason underlies the two cases: the very conception of contentment excludes the possibility of its being consequent on the attainment of an end, whether the moment of attainment be placed before death or after. To the modern understanding, contentment is not a condition that follows on work done but one that is attendant on work a-doing; no objective can yield contentment in the winning, but only in the pursuit. One may wonder how, in this world or beyond it, there could be an end in whose pursuit contentment might be found but in whose attainment none. This remains to be seen; but one thing is obvious from the outset, namely, that our modern will have seized on the only possibilities from which a new theory of contentment might spring, if he supplement the premise already attributed to him with a certain second premise consistent with the first though not implied in it; the two together reading:

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1. (Repeated). There is *no end* to attain which is a condition sufficient to contentment.

2. There is *an end* to pursue which is a condition necessary to contentment: it is an end beyond all attainment.

The rest of our concern with history must lie with these two premises and with such others, consistent with these, as may later be needed, for, so far as our thought has been able to discern, these premises define the only historical opinion that history itself has not outlived. We have watched man seek contentment in a life obedient to (ateleological) laws of good conduct; we have watched him seek it in a (teleological) pursuit, first, of good instruments, then of good and attainable ends. To those for whom all these hopes of the past have ended in but one thing—disillusionment—there remains but one experiment as yet untried: to seek what contentment may lie for us in that most improbable of pursuits, the pursuit of the unattainable, the infinitely remote, the "ideal."

The idea that remains to be examined has been referred to as *modern.* It is modern, yet not in the sense of being a thought widely received of our day. On the contrary, it is too new to be generally understood, too little understood to be popular. To be sure, we hear much of certain terms entering into its expression—*progress*, for example, and *ideal;* so much, indeed, that one is likely to forget how recent is the day in which one would have met neither of these terms indued with its modern meaning. Not but that the separate words are old and familiar enough; it is the sense they take on in conjunction, or rather in correlation that is so new and compelling. Nowhere prior to the 18th century would one have met a whole world, or even an entire humanity, "progressing toward its ideal." No wonder, then, if these late children of our thought should sometimes have proved as difficult to live with as impossible to live without. But if the use of old terms in a new connotation is not to be dismissed as a mere impropriety of speech it should be possible to follow some gradual extension of meaning by which the familiar words have come to enjoy a generality not inconsistent with, though not included in, the thought of their earlier users. Perhaps we can do something of the kind in the present instance. Take *progress*, for example. There is nothing in the idea of a "pilgrim's progress" to tax the simplest imagination,

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least of all when the "pilgrim" is no other than some pious body making for the earthly shrine of his devotion. Of such a pilgrimage one may note certain characteristics, trivial in themselves yet not without interest to the sequel. First, the pilgrim (as opposed to the hermit) moves, or changes position; second (as opposed to the traveler) he moves toward a goal, or progresses; third (as opposed to the prisoner) he moves toward a goal desired, or is drawn. All this is unimaginative enough, yet observe by what a slight extension of meaning a pilgrim of Chaucer is transformed into the pilgrim of Bunyan. On this spiritual pilgrim's progress your hermit as well as your wayfarer may enter; but to do so he too must change, though not in position; his change, too, must bring him toward a goal, though not an earthly one; his goal, too, must draw him through desire, though none his mortal days can see fulfilled. One more extension of meaning and we come to the modern conception of "progress toward an ideal"; but, therewith, to an understanding of how impossible this extension must have been to any but a modern science. In this last pilgrimage as in the first there will be change; that change will approach a goal; that goal will be desired; but the change, though observable, will not be easily measurable; the goal, though approachable, will not be at all attainable; and the desire for it, though ever active, will never find fulfilment. Such and only such an infinite undertaking fits the modern idea of *progress;* such and only such an unattainable goal fits the modern sense of *ideal.* But how can a goal to which no finite being can attain become an object of human desire; how can a pilgrimage no mortal man can finish invite any to begin it? That remains for the modern to explain.

With so difficult a problem before him it would not be strange if this modern should prefer to offer some outline of the thought to come before giving it detail. If he did, he might well arrange the proposals he wished to discuss in some such order as this: There is a wish common to every moment of every desirous being. This wish is of such a nature that only those moments of a lifetime will be given to its gratification whose ambitions, if successively fulfilled, would order themselves into a series of steps. These steps would all tend in one direction, a direction to be defined only in terms of an end their progress will be seen to approach. This end will prove to be no realizable objective but a goal infinitely remote, an end always susceptible

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of closer approach, never of final attainment. If then one conceive the gratification of one's own deepest desire (s.c. that "wish common to every desirous being") to be a condition necessary to contentment, our modern's first two "premises" will follow as conclusions. It must indeed be true that (1) no attainable end will be a sufficient condition to contentment, and that (2) the pursuit of an end unattainable will be a condition necessary thereto.

(But before turning to detail, a word by way of self-warning: To have said that the pursuit of an unattainable end is a *necessary* condition to a contented life is not to say that such pursuit is a *sufficient* condition to contentment. It is still open to our modern to proffer such further premises as would show a certain controled pursuit of attainable ends—let us say, the delights of life—to be the best *means to the end* of enhancing life's contentment. Unfortunately one foresees no likelihood that this brief soliloquy will find leisure to develop the thoughts thus suggested; let them remain no more than a possibility open to future reflection. For the moment one must be content to let the modern fill in with detail such parts of his outline as have here been set down: no more certainly is needed to distinguish his manner of thought from any to be called traditional.)

But if we cannot follow to the end we may at least begin at the beginning. Yet, may we? There must be many who will find this very beginning an offense to common sense. What, they will say, could be more absurd than to suppose all men to want any one thing? If indeed there were any one wish permanent in each and shared by all would not all men 'contend together' in cooperative fulfilment of their common desire rather than 'contend together' in an eternal warfare of irreconcilable ambitions? And yet it may be that this world-old conflict of man with man is not an essential part of human nature but a natural consequence of human ignorance; it may be that will conflicts with will for no other reason than that neither knows what it really wills. But if so the truth must lie implicit in the sort of experience that is anybody's experience and must be discoverable by the kind of logic that is everybody's logic. The difficulty must lie in bringing these two easy things together. One can only try.

Everyone will have heard a certain slangy sentiment with which the man of our day is given to toasting the fellow of whose projects he approves: "More power to his arm!" This toast will have been

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raised to a thousand undertakings, different enough and even contradictory; yet the wish of him who proposes it will always be the same. Well, but there is always one fellow of whose projects a man is bound to approve, one man to whom each of us is ready at every moment to raise this toast: from the beginning of life to the end thereof every mortal man will constantly want for himself increasing power of arm. Is there not then this unchanging wish that runs like an unbroken thread through all life's moments, on which are strung the vari-colored beads of desire? And yet there is such treachery in words one must not accede in haste. Here, for example, it is certain that there is an ever-repeated wish, a wish that always expresses itself in the same form of words, but is it certain that these same words always mean the same thing? Indeed, do they ever twice denote the same thing? If their prayer were twice granted, would the two increments of power accorded the petitioner add up to one increment by which his power was enhanced? Of one who has been granted a wish to become a more powerful chess-player and thereafter his wish to become a more powerful flute-player, what would one say in the end: has he been increased in power, or multiplied in powers? With no more than this to guide us the latter no doubt is all we should feel justified in affirming; but if we were asked, not which of the two we had prayed for but for which of the two we should pray, could we hesitate? Not if there is any soundness to the "ancient wisdom of childhood," learned from a thousand fairy godmothers who have left no godchild untested on this very point. Their lesson is always the same: "With only one wish to be had, choose rather the power to get whatever you may come to want than the pleasure of having any dearest thing in the world." Our modern at any rate takes this ancient wisdom to have touched the bottom of things: he takes the deepest wish in any man, the common wish of all men, to be no other than the wish for more power—the wish to grow more powerful.

So much for our modern's first hypothesis: the "wish common to every moment of every desirous being." The next question is, How is he so to live that this, his deepest want, may not go ungratified? At each moment he gives himself to the ambition of enhancing his power but what does one do to enhance this power? To control one's answer to this question with anything of the rigor its importance deserves would require the working out of a whole system of philosophy; what

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we conceive to be the best reasons for an answer about to be ventured are beyond our power to set down in brief form. Yet even the briefest argument should suggest something of the sort of experimental control and the sort of logical analysis it would think proper to its subject. As such a suggestion, to be confirmed or refuted by the experience of each, consider the reflections of certain historians—reflections variously expressed but to this common import: No culture will be found to have advanced in any namable direction (social, economic, political) that has not advanced in some one of three directions—science, morals, art. Now there would be every reason why this should be so if two premises could be independently established: First, that no community left to itself could advance in any direction if no member of the community would be enhanced in power by an advance in that direction; second, that no member of a community could be enhanced in power unless some member of that community effected an advance in science, in morals, or in art. But the first premise is almost self-evident (since among beings ambitious for more power a change which promised no one more power than he already had would invite no one to invest what power he had to bring this change about). Therefore, what evidence there may be for the historian's observation all goes to the support of the second of these two premises. Let this premise suggest an hypothesis, of which all that can yet be said is that it consists with the historian's experience.

Put in quasi-mathematical form the hypothesis would be this: All terms may be so defined as to make the following propositions true for all humanity: (1) the power of a random individual, *a*, is a direct function of three "independent" variables, science, morals, art; (2) no one of these variables can be made to increase, save through the power exerted by an individual, *b*, *c*, or *d* (where *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* may be, but are not at all likely to be, the same individual). If these hypotheses be confirmed their conclusion is the answer to the question asked at the outset, "What must a man do to gratify his deepest wish; i.e. his wish to grow more powerful?" He must (our argument would conclude) spend all the power he has, as one of a world of men, to make that world into the one most likely to produce the scientist, the moralist, the artist. Without these three nothing favorable to any individual growth can happen; with them, all favorable to that growth is most likely to happen.

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All this, we say, follows if the hypothesis be granted, but will this hypothesis be confirmed in the mind of another soliloquist? One can only suggest a test. Among the ambitions any random man of today is likely to entertain if he be living ten years from now is the ambition to live a little longer. His chances of life at an age ten years beyond his present age are calculable today but what this calculation yields is, of course, the present-day chances of a man ten years our subject's senior; these will represent our subject's chances at a date ten years from now only if the world stand still throughout the interim. Our question is, "How must the world be moved, as only human effort can move it, if ten years from now the younger contemporary is to find his chances of life (i.e. his power to live) enhanced beyond the chances calculated for his senior of today?" Our hypotheses will stand confirmed in the mind of any fellow-thinker who shall be inclined to answer: "I can think of no way in which human agency might have moved the world to this man's advantage, save ways that presuppose an advance in science (some increase in that 'knowledge which is power'); or in morals (some change in social relations that shall have enhanced the chances of power achieved by one being brought to the help of another); or in art (supposing, for reasons to be suggested later, art to enhance the heroism of every human effort)." Must not one who so answers, and who would himself grow in power, make the ambition of his every moment this: to take whatever best means the empirical situation affords to produce a world wherein the chances of an advance in science, morals, or art, are at a maximum? But to do this is to foresee one's life ordered according to the very plan our modern has sketched in outline: the wish to grow is indeed "a wish of such nature that only those moments of a lifetime will be given to its gratification whose ambitions, if successively fulfilled, would order themselves into a series of steps; steps all tending in one direction; a direction to be defined only in terms of its end; an end to be conceived only as a limit of approach." But no, we go too fast. It has not yet been shown that the steps necessary to the growth of human power do advance to an end, still less that any end toward which they may tend must be in the nature of an unattainable goal. To show these matters will be the last of our modern's undertakings.

But indeed this undertaking is not the difficult one it might seem;

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all that need be said is implicit in what has been said. To be sure the unfolding of these latent meanings might condemn one insistent on technical perfection to rather long developments; but one who is content to leave undemonstrated many a step that his thought will have shown possible, may come to rapid conclusions. To go back to beginnings: The popular toast whose good wish stimulated these later reflections will be remembered to have raised its glass not to power but to more power. The *more* is essential; to have asked for *power* unqualified would have been to ask for power unlimited; there is no pure power short of omnipotence. If one think he has power to do so little a thing as pick up a pin let him but consider. It is true, this enterprise has been carried to successful conclusion hundreds of thousands of times, but it has also failed time and again: hearts have broken and heads have fallen in the gesture of lifting a pin's weight. There is no undertaking so humble that the wish for power to accomplish it might be granted to mortal man; there is none so exalted but that a wish for more power to gratify it might meet with a measure of fulfilment. But as one comes to reflect on this saying its two thoughts tend to merge into one. Life, it would seem to say, can propose to itself no undertaking more exalted than the acquisition of such power as is needed to pick up a pin. Does the proposition sound absurd? If so, may this not be an effect of popular use? In casual discourse one's power to attain any end proposed is considered sufficient, if one's chances of success appear sufficiently high, one's chances of failure sufficiently low. In the matter of lifting a pin, in the matter of plucking a rose the chances of success are enormous, the chances of failure few. And yet—so our modern would reflect—few as are the chances adverse, "no power on earth" can reduce them to nil; many as are the chances favorable, "no power under heaven" can raise them to *all*. It is to put the same thought in another way—a way that has many analogues in science—to let it suggest a definition, the definition of what has been called the *direction* of human progress: As man's chances of failure approach the limit *nil*, man's measure of power approaches the limit *unity*. But we have a name for that power whose measure is said to be *unity*, whose chances of failure are *nil*, whose chances of success are *all:* we call such power *Omnipotence*.

One would like to elaborate, yet nothing essential is lost if we let this bare definition close our modern's account of himself. In it his

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last undertaking will have come to completion: there is no longer doubt as to what may be that "one direction" in which must tend all steps making for progress. It is a direction such that advance along its way is measured not by the distance humanity has gone (from an arbitrary point of reference) but by the distance it has yet to go, to reduce in some measured degree its remoteness from a goal. As to the goal itself, it is plainly unattainable, yet none the less definable as a limit of approach. It is the limit to which life approaches the closer, the more it succeeds in reducing the adverse chances of life. It is the end for which all live who live for enhancement of power; it is the one ideal in whose service *contentment* can lie.

Perhaps one can understand why this "modern thought" of ours so often ends with a question: What god could with better right than this Omnipotence call to man, from out infinity, "My son, I ought to be thy supreme and ultimate end if thou would be truly blessed"?

To let this be one's last word on "the contented life" must be to interrupt one's self at the very point from which opens out the vision of all that such a life would mean to him who lived it and to the world wherein it was lived. Yet, reluctantly, your soliloquist does thus interrupt himself at the very beginning of things; and if he does it is that he may give himself a moment, ere his leisure end, to return to the matters that occupied its beginning. There was question then not only of a most contented life but also of a least reluctant death. And have these modern thoughts on a happier way of living offered any help to a pleasanter way of dying? No, nor can they hope to, before the clock strike. Yet something they may do ere they close; they may recall a word, a mere parenthesis with which our modern dismissed, rather than concluded, his preliminary outline of an argument to come. Two premises it will be remembered were to be discussed; and now that they have been, it is plain enough that nothing built on them could resemble any structure ever to be raised on "traditional" foundations. But beyond these two premises our modern well foresaw the need of others if ever the whole edifice of the practical life were to be constructed. And therefore his outline closed with a warning: the two premises definitely accepted claimed to offer no more than the conditions necessary to contentment; they did not pretend to provide conditions sufficient thereto. These two theses, if accepted, must

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indeed commit one to a definite doctrine. *Extra ecclesiam*, they proclaim, *nulla salus*—without devotion no contentment! Yes, but *with* this devotion, what? That hasty parenthesis reserved the modern's right to make answer as he would: it left him free to maintain, should he later find reason to, that the pursuit of attainable ends—all the delights of life, all its finite loves—though not indispensable to contentment might yet have everything to do with the measure of contentment attained. What then if at this juncture our modern were to commune with himself in some such terms as these:

"Nothing tells us that humanity will be swept on by powers superior to its own to some restful *Latium*, *sedes ubi fata quietas ostendunt*. Rather we seem to see that if ever humanity is to progress toward any ultimate goal it must be toward such a goal as can inspire in men themselves the desire to labor toward it at any price of toil. Yet those on whom these labors shall fall can never be other than mortal men, and since these only instruments of god must vary enormously in kind and temper may it not be that each will work best to the end of all if he consult himself as to the conditions best calculated to make him an instrument fit for its function? It may be that some will find their fullest contentment in the peace (one might say the 'dynamic repose') of a toil undistracted. Who would urge on a temperament so naturally ascetic the pursuit of delights that to it would be none? It may be that others, more after the manner of mortals, will find in the love of mortals their highest incentive to live. Who would quench in such spirits the very fires that feed them? And no doubt these lovers themselves will be given to various loves. At one end we may imagine the lover who loves most the mortal that is himself yet loves with a noble love that acts as a spur to devotion. Such a self-lover will be he who can give of his best to science, art, humanity, only if that best be acknowledged *his* gift and no other's. The great scientist, artist, savior of humanity will often, if not always, be filled with this noblest of egoisms. At the other end one may imagine the lover whose heart attaches itself not to himself but to his fellow; attaches itself with all that care which makes the loss of the thing so cared for a loss irreparable; makes the anxiety to have and to hold this object of affection greater than the anxiety to hold himself aloft above men or even alive among them. Your great lover will often, if not always, be of this sort—the sort that to save its soul,

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must lose it. But if one would not seduce the ascetic into delights that would disturb his devotions, neither should one constrain the loverly to austerities that could but chill his enthusiasms. For these very anxieties of mortal lover for the good of his mortal love, are they not the stimulus best calculated to urge him on to a new fullness of devotion —devotion to that toil which alone can reduce the chances of losing all that to him would be a loss? For the noble egoist, for the generous lover, may it not be better indeed to have loved and lost than not to have loved at all? Better, even for that devotion's sake without which no contentment can be, and with which contentment approaches completion only as devotion approaches perfection?"

"Then what of death?" you say. Well, what of death then? He who lives devoutly so lives as to give the thing he lives for the best chance of outliving him; and not him alone, but every mortal that with his help shall ever have come to live for the one ideal. This we have seen, and one who recognizes this much has already found in the devout life one condition necessary to contentment: no life so lived can have been in vain, however brief its course. This is all true enough, and yet he would be no more than a fool who, thinking on all the content there was in a life lived for the ideal, should therefore say in his heart: Now death is swallowed up in victory. Death is still the death of something loved; only the loveless have nothing to fear from it; and if any such have lived who shall grudge them their luck? But what of the rest of us to whom this luck, for whatever it is worth, has not been vouchsafed? For us perhaps there is something yet to be said, something that has had to remain an undeveloped hint in these meditative jottings, something concerning the power, the very deep and as yet hardly imagined power of art—not the art that is another's but the art that should be one's own. The tragedian knows how to clothe death with beauty: this is the art that every one who grows along the way to power must come more and more to use as his own. It is with this power, this new power of art, that he must learn to control his response to the death of all he loves, for the core of the esthetic response to a world where all loves die is heroism. What does heroism mean? The soliloquist is not sure that he knows. At any rate, he will not try to tell. Instead, let him end this meditation with a memory.

There once died a great tragedian. On the occasion of his death a

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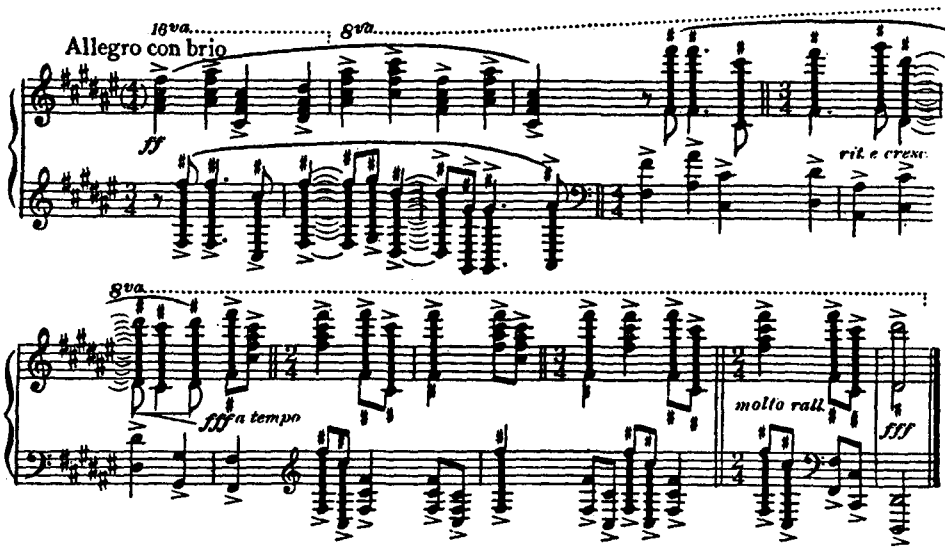
poet wrote some lines to be read in the theatre wherein this man had lived his art. The first of these lines your soliloquist would leave as a parting thought, and also one he would somewhere preserve against the time when he may again find leisure to think on death—if it may be, without too much reluctance. (An actor reads):

Dies Haus und wir, wir dienen einer Kunst,
Die jeden tiefen Schmerz erquicklich macht
Und schmackhaft auch den Tod.



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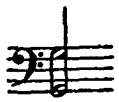
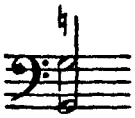
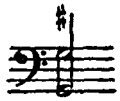
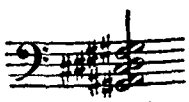
From Henry Cowell's "The Hero Sun"

The symbol or indicates that all the Chromatic tones, inclusive between the upper and lower tones given, are to be played simultaneously.

A sharp or flat above or below such a symbol indicates that only the black keys between the outer limits are to be played, while a natural in the same position indicates that only the white keys are to be played. It is seen therefore that the symbol  stands for and the symbol  stands for the symbol  stands for 

The tone clusters indicated by these symbols are to be played either with the flat of the hand, or with the forearm, owing to the length of the cluster. Care should be taken to play all the tones exactly together, and in legato passages, pressing down the keys, rather than striking them, thus obtaining a smoother tone quality.

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Native Elements in American Music

JOHN TASKER HOWARD
Composer, Author

CREATIVE music in America is at the threshold. Exactly what threshold it faces and where the door will lead is not easily determined. There are a number of composers who can tell exactly what the American music of the future will be but no two composers make the same prophecy. In music, more perhaps than in the other arts, Americans have leaned heavily on European models. Such reflection is thoroughly understandable; our nineteenth century composers studied abroad (principally in Germany) at a time when Continental Europe was acknowledged to be the wellspring from which all musical tradition and progress flowed. Moreover, our racial background was planted not in the soil of the American Continent but in various nations of the Old World.

For many years Americans were content to tolerate such a state of affairs. The fact that a native or resident composer could write music that was "correct" and sounded well was in itself sufficiently remarkable to represent a credible achievement. With the turn of the century and the arising of a national consciousness in the American people, musicians and music lovers have become increasingly aware that our own music has been little more than German, French, or Italian music composed by Americans.

To correct this state of affairs drastic measures have been suggested and by some musicians adopted. Anything that seemed to derive from the soil of the North American Continent was seized upon as fair game for adaptation. The Russian composers, the Norwegians, the Spaniards, had achieved nationalism by using their native folk-songs. All Americans needed to do was to seize upon the folk-songs of their own people. Soon there arose a group that appropriated songs of the American Indian while others turned to the "spirituals" of the Negro, little realizing that the Indians and the Negroes are peoples with temperamental characteristics so different from those of the composers who used the material that any treatment these musicians might give the melodies would be wholly objective and for the most

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part manufactured. Recently there has come the knowledge that nationalism is a subtle element and that its expression must be achieved subjectively; that a pair of blunt shears is not enough to cut the cord which has tied us to our foreign cousins for several centuries. Some have been so conservative as to feel that the cord should not be altogether severed.

In spite of its cosmopolitan character the American people has developed a number of traits that are individual and definitely to be recognized. Whether these can be expressed through a medium so abstract as music is another matter, but the temperamental characteristics are nevertheless present and waiting to be translated.

First among these comes our buoyancy. There is in the American disposition a carefree, jaunty attitude altogether distinct from the light-hearted moments of other nationals. It may be argued that this phase of our temperament represents the Irish in our blood, just as some feel that our thrifty countrymen show Scotch extraction. But it cannot be denied that the American, when he snaps his fingers at the Universe, shows an impertinence beyond the courage of his foreign relatives; a daring that has come from the tradition of pioneers. Those who profess their ability to reduce jokes to classification and formulae hold that there is a definite American humor; that just as British wit is based primarily on understatement the typical American humor rests largely on exaggeration, on the absurdity and ridiculousness of overstatement. Hence the comic strip, a thoroughly American institution. As for our idealism, our conception of what expansive living should be in a land where every man is free to determine his own destiny, we have that too. Though each of us may have a different vision of how his ideals may be achieved we do have ideals, whether they be material or spiritual. In the nineteenth century our idealism was expressed through sentimentalism; today it is heard through a realism based on sentiment. By reputation Americans are always in a hurry. We like to call such haste a spirit of enterprise, but whatever we term it, it was probably developed by the need our ancestors felt for combating the elements and fighting for their existence in a land where the first necessity was providing a living. Now that the material resources of the Continent are actually realized we have so acquired the habit of hurry that we must still make haste to get all we can from what life offers us. Our inventive genius

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has come from the enterprise of our forefathers, and America has made remarkable contributions to the mechnical and scientific progress of the world. We have created the skyscraper, subways, machines for doing almost everything that man found drudgery. The fact that such machines have nearly destroyed us is beside the point; we have made them, and even though we are as yet unable to use them intelligently they constitute a factor that has had a definite influence in shaping the American temperament. Our desire for standardization is another trait which seems part of the native character. Our eagerness to join something, whether it be the local Rotary Club or the Daughters of the American Revolution, arises not only from a love of sociability but also from a desire to be like other Americans. It may be this craving which is at the bottom of the demand that American art be truly American, even though it is apparent that too much standardization might altogether destroy anything so fragile.

These are a few of the characteristics that may be accepted as peculiar to Americans. Some of them are expressible through the arts; through literature, the drama, painting, sculpture, architecture, and possibly through music. Whether they have actually found such expression can be determined only by an examination of the American music of the past, and the achievements and aims of our present-day composers.

From our earliest days as a nation America has experienced an almost constant immigration of musicians from abroad. By the time of the Revolutionary War native music had made a feeble start. The Psalmodists and hymn-tune-composers of New England had succeeded partially in overcoming the Puritan prejudice against music and were producing a tune literature which was halting and crude but that definitely reflected the New England attitude toward religion. In Philadelphia Francis Hopkinson had made his appearance as a poet-composer, and though his music was little more than a reflection of the songs of Arne, Bull, and other composers then in vogue, he at least gave voice to the Colonials who were still Englishmen.

The close of the Revolution and the coming of American independence rendered our infant nation the goal of many foreigners who came to enjoy our promised freedom. When the French Revolution made France a dangerous place for musicians who had been supported by the aristocracy hundreds of Frenchmen fled to our shores. Some of

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them were musicians. These foreign artists were far better equipped than our native music-makers. Some of those who came from England had played under Haydn in London and many of them were experienced in both performing and composing music. Consequently the few American musicians were forced to the background and their names almost completely disappeared from our concert programs for more than a decade. Eventually, however, the foreigners became Americans themselves and their descendants today can boast a long line of American ancestors. As the nineteenth century progressed native efforts were revived. In 1822 Lowell Mason published his first collection of hymn-tunes. Mason showed little originality as a musician; his tunes were definitely patterned after German models, yet he did revive the spirit of early New England Psalmody, even though his polishing of its ruggedness robbed it of the vitality it might have come to possess.

During the first half of the century a type of sentimental song which sprang directly from English roots was developed, principally through the work of such English visitors as Henry Russell, who contributed the music to George Morris' "Woodman, Spare that Tree," and Joseph Philip Knight, who during the year he visited America (1839) composed the familiar setting to Emma Willard's "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep."

The composing of such songs and their performance gave rise to various organizations who toured the country presenting ballad concerts—the Hutchisons, the Baker Family, and others. Forerunners of the Chautauqua circuits, these groups presented a type of song intended not alone for the concert platform but also for mid-century parlors where many a young miss could play the accompaniments on square pianos covered with brocade and lace. "There's Nothing True But Heaven," "My Hopes Have Departed Forever," "Where Can the Soul Find Rest?," "The Last Link is Broken," and countless other ditties added their dolor to otherwise festive gatherings.

Side by side with the popularity of the "singing families" came the vogue of the minstrel show, a type of entertainment that has proved to be America's most individual contribution to the theatre. Originating from an imitation of Negro singing it developed a pattern of interlocutor and end-men, jokes, parades from the railroad station, and other attributes that made it as American an institution as the

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circus. The Negro of the minstrels was an absurd caricature yet he had his origin in the soil of the nation and his like had been seen nowhere else. The minstrel shows developed a song-literature of their own. They often appropriated sentimental ballads to provide contrast on their programs, but the "Jim Crow," "Zip Coon," "Coal Black Rose" type of song had its birth and its impetus directly from the early minstrel performers. Though they were seldom the songs of actual Negroes these minstrel songs constituted America's conception of the Negro, and though they were a synthetic product they represented something altogether individual and generally spontaneous.

It was for the minstrel shows that Stephen Foster composed most of his songs, and because he wrote for a medium that was definitely American he may be considered a purely national product. Living in Pittsburgh, Foster was little influenced by the foreign music heard on the seaboard. The music he knew best was the literature of minstrel songs and sentimental ballads, and he added his own voice to the development and perpetuation of these types. While the minstrel songs provided an influence that affected Foster profoundly they were also a medium that he himself completely reformed. He found the songs crude, vulgar ditties which struck the popular fancy, but nevertheless lyrics and songs which in spite of their vulgarity actually represented something definitely American. Foster made of this class of music a literature well worth preserving—he brought artistry and sincerity to a medium that before his entry had reeked of the alley and the barroom.

The best of Foster's songs fall into two types. The first is a variety of nonsense song that seems to represent the carefree attitude of Americans. "Oh! Susanna," "Camptown Races," "De Glendy Burk," may have been written to describe a shiftless type of Negro but they actually typify the jauntiness of Americans in all parts of the country. "Oh! Susanna" is a glorious bit of nonsense. It shows a love of boisterous fun, of rollicking good humor that may contain nothing of subtlety but which nevertheless shows a wealth of good spirit that will ever prove highly infectious. The very lilt of the song is catching, so contagious that almost everyone in America was singing it as soon as he heard it. The factor having most to do with making the song a typically American folk-song was the use made of it by the forty-niners. In January of 1848 gold was discovered in California.

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By 1849 the trails were choked with Westward travelers whose favorite song en route and around the camp-fire at night was "Oh! Susanna"—a song of pioneers, no matter how localized the Negro dialect of its verses. The second type of Foster songs is a sentimental ballad which seemed to spring directly from the literature then in vogue. Here again Foster proved himself an artist by adding sincerity to a type of song that was generally artificial. His love songs were often no better than other ballads of the day but when he sang of home he dealt with a fundamental emotion strong in his own nature. In "Old Folks at Home" and "My Old Kentucky Home" Foster sounded a note, individual and national, but of universal appeal.

In his own time Foster's songs were considered nothing more than popular songs of the day. The idea that they might prove immortal never occurred even to Foster himself. Only in recent years have musicians come to join laymen in realizing that the songs of Stephen Foster are a far more genuine art product than the manufactured works of the more ambitious composers of that time, and later.

While Foster was at the height of his brief career another foreign invasion occurred. This affected Foster but little yet it had a profound effect on those of our native composers who were concerned with more ambitious musical activity. The number of German musicians driven to our shores as a result of the series of revolutions in Central Europe around 1848 was in a large part responsible for the American subservience to German music. Just as in the years after the Revolution, the foreigners who came in mid-century became our principal concert artists, teachers, and composers; and they succeeded in giving our native musicians an inferiority complex from which they have not yet completely recovered.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw America producing a number of composers but in the field of larger works none of them had anything individual to say for himself. Whatever nationalism was discernible was left to the popular song-writers and balladists. It may be argued that Americans were not yet ready to speak wholly for themselves; that as a nation we had first to acquire a technique and to learn to use the tools of an art before we could hope to express what was deepest rooted in our nature. Added to this was a belief that the materials for making music were formal and polished, and a complete failure to recognize that in unsuspected places at home lay the

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raw materials for a literature that could prove far more vital than one which relied wholly on imitation.

In the vanguard of pioneers marched John Knowles Paine and Dudley Buck, the one a professor and the other an organist from the choir loft, both of them academic gentlemen who produced music noted for its respectability. Then followed the Boston group—George W. Chadwick, Horatio Parker, and several others who are still living, among them Arthur Foote and Mrs. H. H. A. Beach. Chadwick was as academic as Paine, yet in some of his music there appeared sly chuckles denoting a bit of Yankee humor. Concurrently with the Boston group came Edward MacDowell, an artist who had little in common with those of his colleagues who happened to be his countrymen. MacDowell was an individualist (and a rugged one at that) whose originality was his principal charm. If the vivid indication of his Celtic extraction may be considered an Americanism, he was indeed a nationalist, and his music has suffered from its limitations. Yet there was little of the American soil in MacDowell's work; it was rather a Scotch-Irish molding of the roots of German romanticism.

Thus we came to the opening years of the twentieth century with little if any national feeling in our native music but with an extremely vocal demand from musicians that we become nationalists overnight. A national consciousness had awakened and something drastic must be done about our shortcomings. We overlooked the fact that a composer like Stephen Foster achieved a national expression wholly unconsciously, that he turned naturally and simply to the things he knew best without any thought of what significance his product might possess. He wrote songs that have proved to be American folk-songs, not because he set out to do so but because the market he aimed for was one which would automatically shape a literature that must be American.

It was a Bohemian who first turned our thoughts to the treasures on our own continent. Antonin Dvořák came here as a teacher during the 1890's and while he was with us he composed his "New World" symphony and "American" quartet, largely as examples of what a composer might do with the native material at hand. The fact that by using Negro- and Indian-like themes he achieved nothing more than a Bohemian's impressions of our country, and a poignant expression of his own homesickness might have shown our

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composers that only a Negro or an Indian may write Negro or Indian music. Few were as analytical as that, however; the majority saw merely that Dvořák had composed truly great works based on material found here. To be American they need only do likewise.

Thus arose the folk-song group, some of whose members have accomplished works of vitality and lasting merit. The group has divided itself into two factions—those who truly believe that nationalism may be achieved by borrowing native songs as themes for compositions, and those who utilize Negro, Indian, Cowboy, or Mountain songs merely because they offer tempting melodies.

Recently jazz has come into our midst and some of the nationalists have seized upon it as the cure for all our ills. It is true that jazz reflects a number of the traits in our national temperament which we have accepted as being American. There is a restlessness in this music that betokens our craving to be always on the move as well as a monotony of underlying rhythms which is nothing if not standardized. Even though most of it that is written today is the product of the sophisticated East, highly commercialized and exploited, jazz nevertheless has its roots in the American soil. Originating with the Negroes it has come to Broadway and Tin-Pan-Alley, and in a very real sense it has become a Jewish interpretation of the Negro. And what could be more American than such a combination, even though it does ignore those of us who have Puritan ancestors? The *Mayflower* may look elsewhere for a spokesman.

Several of our composers have turned to jazz as an idiom for serious music, among them John Alden Carpenter. In his ballet "Skyscrapers," Mr. Carpenter has attempted to express American life in terms of steel and rivets, the monotony of factory labor and the feverish haste to make a business of recreation. Jazz rhythms are the appropriate basis for such a kaleidescopic view of Americans at work and at play. In another ballet, "Krazy Kat," the same composer turns to the Merriman cartoons as indicative of American humor, and jazz again forms the background for exaggeration and slap-stick comedy. Mr. Carpenter is not himself of Broadway or of the levees and plantations. He comes, rather, from the Middle West and derives from a New England ancestry apparent from his name. His musical education was undertaken under the most respectable auspices—with John K. Paine at Harvard and in England with Edward Elgar. His

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approach to jazz has been conscious and objective and the fact that his product appears as genuine as it does is a tribute to his artistry and to his creative gifts.

George Gershwin, though his aims may be the same as Carpenter's, presents an opposite view of the situation. Carpenter started in the concert halls and turned to Broadway for atmosphere and background. Gershwin is himself of Broadway and by aspiration and achievement reached the concert halls, tracking their aisles with the soil that still clung to his boots. Whether he has become one of the select prophets of Euterpe is not yet clear, but to date he remains the one American composer who can attract a full house, with cash customers turned away, when a program made exclusively of his own works is announced at the summer concerts in the Lewisohn Stadium, New York. Gershwin believes in jazz, and has announced his creed as follows:

> Jazz I regard as an American folk-music; not the only one, but a very powerful one which is probably in the blood and feeling of the American people more than any other style of folk-music. I believe that it can be made the basis of serious symphonic works of lasting value, in the hands of a composer with talent for both jazz and serious music.[1]

The last sentence of Mr. Gershwin's statement is highly important. It might be interpreted as eliminating composers who are only of the concert halls—who seek merely to borrow jazz. It might also be argued by those who question his gifts for symphonic development that Mr. Gershwin is himself disqualified. Perhaps Mr. Gershwin is too much of Broadway and its jazz to free himself of its limitations. The thing is in his blood, and when he devises rhythmic patterns there is no question of their authenticity. Yet he seems more himself, more refreshing and genuine, when he lays aside ambition and tosses off gay tunes for the musical comedies he writes in collaboration with his Gilbertian brother, Ira. Then we find a spontaneity not always present when Gershwin mixes Broadway with a bit of Wagner, Liszt, and Tschaikowsky and attempts an attenuated structure he is rarely capable of supporting. The Gershwin musical comedy tunes are as native in their way, and as unconscious of their own importance, as were the pseudo-plantation songs and the minstrel ditties of Stephen Fos-

[1] *American Composers on American Music*, A Symposium edited by Henry Cowell. 1933.

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ter. We may well hope that the plaudits of the intelligentsia and vaulting ambition fail to mar the product of one who in his natural field of musical comedy has contributed something alive and real.

There are others who use jazz, among them Aaron Copland, a pupil of the Parisian Nadia Boulanger—a man who seems at times to be sufficiently a master of structure to overcome the sameness, the rigid monotony of the constant four-four pattern that is the superficial allure yet the damning curse of the jazz idiom. Copland is often accused of adapting American material to a modern French style, but if a composer is allowed nothing that resembles in any way the music of any other nation he will have little to work with and he must invent a mode of expression new in every particular.

There is actually a cult that is attempting just such a program. With note clusters—whole rows of tones that for sounding simultaneously require the whole forearm on the keyboard—with chord combinations of biting acerbity, with these and other ear-splitting devices as their weapons, the members of this sect go forth with but a single fear—a dread of producing any sound that will prove consonant or of writing any music that will sound like anything that has ever been written before. Most of these composers are proceeding with their business in coldly scientific fashion. Some of them are studying higher mathematics to determine the number of combinations possible with the twelve tones of the diatonic scale; they plot cycles of recurrences and contrasts. And they produce music that looks for all the world like the chart of a technocrat. This seems to indicate that these composers have put aside altogether the emotional significance of music; that if there is an intention to create a mood in the listener it must be one of irritation and jangled nerves. Yet some of these experimentalists are concerned with the emotional significance of what they write, beyond the intellectual, or mechanical, feat of producing something that will be technically different.

Charles Ives starts with a foundation of what he terms "Yankee folk-music" and through juxtaposition of various groups of instrumental choirs seeks to reflect New England, from the days of Psalm singing to the present. One wonders what would have happened to Mr. Ives had he lived in early Salem. Carl Ruggles closets himself in his Vermont home and shuns all influences from the outside which might affect his music and make it less his own. Roy Harris seems

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definitely to represent the section of America he came from—the Southwest. He searches for new forms based on the old and he speaks with a vigor and ruggedness that has all the raciness of "Zip Coon" and the "Arkansas Traveller." Harris is far less a modernist than many of his colleagues. To him tradition is not an evil monster, and his music is comprehensible to liberals if not to all reactionaries.

To list all the composers who are writing music worthy of comment would be to fill an entire issue of this magazine with a catalog of names. It has been possible to select only a few whose work provides an example of the point I am trying to make—that America is seeking to "go nationalist" in music, and for the most part self-consciously. We have had Walt Whitman in literature; where is our Whitman in music? In asking that question we forget, perhaps, that Whitman wrote as he did because he was expressing himself. That he achieved the expression of America was an individual affair, something that came from within him, and not a tangible element imposed from without in answer to public demand. It has often been said that music is a universal language—a statement fundamentally true, though trite. Nationalism may be achieved in international speech, yet the peoples and races who have been the most intensely national in their music are those who are nationalists by temperament, and nations of homogeneous races—Norwegians, Spanish, Bohemians, Italians. We cannot lose sight of the heterogeneous mixture of races in America. To seek for a music that would represent the United States ethnologically is a vain and impossible task. Music may reflect some of the component races of America but only one of them at a time. To express America our composers must tell of Americans temperamentally rather than racially, and that is something that must be accomplished subjectively and unconsciously.

Whether or not it is important that our music be nationalistic is a question that may be argued from many sides. Do we insist that it suffer the limitations that nationalism invariably imposes? If we can produce composers of individuality, with something definite to say and the power to say it effectively, is it not enough that we achieve a spiritual height which awakens an emotional and intellectual stimulus in the listener? Is it not more important that we contribute good, and perhaps great, music to the literature of the world than that we confine ourselves to the expression of our own point of view?

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Trends in Chemistry

HARRISON E. HOWE

Editor, "Industrial and Engineering Chemistry"

IN the depressing times which have become universal in the last three years many forms of activity have been materially curtailed, but in contrast with the attitude toward research during the former decline in business in the early 20's there has been little if any recession in this type of work, taking the country as a whole. True, some industries much against their preference and as a last resort have found it necessary to diminish scientific personnel and to decrease appropriations provided for scientific research. But on the other hand the laboratories devoted to advanced research in educational institutions have been more than full and the time devoted in some industries to problems in control has been available for new research or for the completion of problems held in abeyance when production seemed all-important. The net result of these and other factors has been an increase rather than a decrease in the number of those papers reporting original research which have been offered for publication, and an actual deepening of interest in some commercial quarters in what research can do to assist industry. With encouraging results much new work has been undertaken on old problems.

In fundamental research new theories, particularly with respect to atomic and molecular structure and behavior, have engaged the attention of many experimenters, and the difference in approach, sometimes, to the same set of problems has given rise to "chemical physics" as a new designation covering the ground not adequately described in the better known term, "physical chemistry." This is cited merely as an example to show how fine-toothed has become the comb with which the experimenters and theorists are raking over these borderland areas. Along with new theories there have been developed new types of experimental apparatus, and the increase in the number of those skilled in the use of x-rays, the spectograph, and a number of other devices little known a generation ago has multiplied the number of efficient workers—with encouraging achievements as a result.

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Trends in Chemistry

The last few years have seen the announcement of discoveries which complete the periodic table. Element No. 87, named Eka-Cesium, was reported in 1930 by Allison, Murphy, and their collaborators, using a magneto-optical method since employed in other laboratories with gratifying results. In 1931 Papish at Cornell announced the discovery of this element in Samarskite. In the same year the Alabama Polytechnic group announced the discovery of the remaining element, atomic No. 85, which they named Eka-Iodine. Thus after sixty years the table arranged by Mendeleeff in accordance with the characteristics of the then known elements and in which spaces were left for elements yet to be discovered, but with properties which were then predicted, has been fulfilled with amazing accuracy.

The study of isotopes, notably those of hydrogen, and of radioactivity has attracted increasing numbers of research workers. As indicated above, the exact borderlines once established between the sciences have been obliterated and in an effort to establish bit by bit more of the fundamental truth we find brought together the best that mathematics, physics, and chemistry afford. More than that, both pure and applied chemistry are involved, though it is difficult at times to distinguish between the two classifications. Pure research may be thought of as work done for the sake of establishing a fact, when there is no particular need for it; while applied research is described as work undertaken to establish a fact when one must jolly well have it and have it quickly. The stress of the day has caused some pieces of work to be undertaken with the definite hope of achieving something immediately profitable; yet it is more generally understood than ever before that most worth while discoveries are not made to order. A British textile manufacturer has announced success in the search for creaseless fabrics. In his process one of the synthetic resins is introduced and polymerized in the fiber. This is the result of a determined effort to meet a recognized demand, and there are other examples of the same sort of endeavor; but on the whole it has come to be recognized that the striking things are often those found in the course of research conducted with a different objective in mind, and that the application of a new discovery is frequently in a direction quite unforeseen.

Another advance has been the realization, even on the part of those who financially back research, that scientific investigation of the first

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rank can seldom if ever be hurried. There is no thought that lack of diligence is ever to be recommended, but rather that to place research under great pressure tends to slight details that may be important, and frequently tends to drive ideas out of instead of into one's head. In the end this causes a bit of work to be laid aside with a feeling of dissatisfaction and a fear that it may be imperfect. "You cannot hurry a setting hen."

There has been a decided trend toward synthesis, in which the relatively new tool—high pressure—has been combined with raw materials more or less neglected in the past. As a result of this new procedure many new products have come upon the market. The subjection of gases to high temperatures and pressures in the presence of a catalyst has given us a long line of new solvents. These new solvents meet a special need at this time when, among other things, new lacquers which involve the use of synthetic plastics or resins with these new solvents are particularly in vogue. Whereas the earlier synthetic coatings were principally applicable to metals, the new ones are being used on wood, plaster, and other surfaces as well, either for decoration or for protection from rust and decay. Petroleum has received an increasing amount of attention as a raw material useful for the manufacture of products other than fuels and lubricants. The higher alcohols may be numbered among the resulting items, while the gases often wasted in the refinery have been used as a source of hydrogen for the hydrogenation of certain fractions of crude oil, thus making possible the manufacture of a long list of materials more in accordance with exacting specifications. The nitrogen madness that seems to have seized us is largely due to this high-pressure synthesis.

It was to be expected that in these times the search for new things would be quickened. And the results have shown that products of special characteristics and merit can find a market. It has long been recognized that rubber is not the ideal material for many services which it is required to perform. While the research incident to this problem has generally been described as an effort to synthesize rubber, what the technologist really seeks is a rubber-like material better fitted for special uses than is the natural rubber. DuPrene is the trade name of one such material which sells at something like twenty times the price of crude rubber and yet finds a market large enough to consume the present capacity of the plant in which it is made. This

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popularity it owes to the fact that it requires no sulfur for vulcanization, an advantage in much of its application; that its particle size is smaller than the natural latex of the rubber tree and for this reason is better suited to some types of impregnation; and that it resists hydrocarbon solvents far better than does natural rubber. These and other advantages are of great value for special uses. A by-product of this work is a synthetic drying oil which enjoys an extensive demand because it affords well-nigh perfect protection against corrosion by acid fumes. It is interesting to note that the present development and uses of DePrene are based to a large extent upon academic research upon acetylene conducted by Nieuwland, now of Notre Dame, and carried to commercial success in the research laboratory of the du Pont company.

Though one portion of the rubber field has been invaded by a synthetic material, new uses have been opened by the large-scale introduction of natural rubber latex. We even hear much of a new type of cellular or sponge rubber, made from latex, which is entering the upholstery industry in a large way. This material is already finding a use in the cushions of buses and trucks and has been successfully used for mattresses on sleeping cars. As a binder, latex in combination with cellulose and animal fibers has accounted for a variety of new products and has given us a rubber cement more satisfactory for some uses than former ones which were solutions of rubber in volatile solvents.

There has been no fundamental improvement in detergents in hundreds of years. But there have now come to us sulfonated fatty alcohols which in time may even displace soap in the textile plant and laundry. The salts of these compounds formed with magnesium, calcium, and iron are soluble in any kind of water, thus making it possible to use them successfully in hard or acid water, and are said to have none of the disadvantages but all of the advantages of soaps. When added to ordinary soaps the resulting product possesses new and valuable detergent properties.

In the synthetic plastics, of which there are now literally hundreds, the trend is toward specialties for particular uses. A long list of chemical compounds have been found capable of polymerization and condensation, and whereas phenol and formaldehyde were the raw materials used by the pioneers in this field the list now extends into a considerable number of organic compounds. Differences in strength,

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in resistance to heat, in dialectric properties, in the range of colors possible, in the ease of molding, in the extent to which polymerization may be arrested and held at a particular point, and of course in cost are factors in this interesting development. Some of these plastics enter varnishes and lacquers, indicating an entirely new trend in protective coatings, a development which applies not only to coatings for metals but to house paints where for the first time in many years linseed oil faces really active competition. In the chemical industry, where hard rubber and vulcanized rubber coatings have been used and where severe service conditions obtain, the electrodeposition of rubber from latex offers an additional form of protection. Many intricate parts incapable of satisfactory coatings under other methods can now be given a thick coat of rubber, vulcanized in place, to any satisfactory degree of hardness.

Modern trends have demanded light, strong alloys not only for aircraft but wherever power is involved in transportation. It is expensive to move unnecessary dead weight, and such sensational developments in transportation as individually powered cars, streamlined and capable of great speed, involve the extensive use of both aluminum and magnesium alloys. The latter is relatively new, for it is only within the last five years that magnesium has been produced cheaply enough to make it attractive as a commercial raw material; but being actually lighter than aluminum it now competes, volume for volume, with that better-known metal. The employment of such metals in rolling stock makes a marked difference in cost. Coal cars are capable of carrying the difference, namely 18 tons, as a pay load; and trailers on which finished automobiles are delivered not only enable a thousand dollars to be saved in the investment in power plant to haul them, but from experiments so far conducted indicate an operating saving of $5000 for every 100,000 miles traveled. The wider use of the light, strong alloys in various sorts of construction is freely predicted by many engineers.

The constant search for the new has been rewarded with wood in a unique form. Flexwood is the trade name applied to a very thin veneer of wood, so mounted on a textile backing that it can be flexed in the direction of the grain. The resulting product is a wall covering which can be fitted very much as wall paper is applied around corners and into recesses and after sand blasting and waxing or some other

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finish becomes a wood panel attractive because of the variety of woods available, the lower costs, and the ease of installation.

Trends toward the betterment of products are no less interesting. While the protection of metals by coatings has seen many improvements, it has remained for plating with chromium and for alloys embodying various percentages of chromium and nickel to produce far-reaching advantages. These alloys which, where the chromium percentage is high, resist some types of acids to a remarkable degree, have made possible certain advances in the chemical industry which have exercised a world-wide influence. An example of this is found in the manufacture of nitric acid, so important both in industry and in war. Heretofore this material has been made from Chilean nitrate. With the advent of this new alloy and the world wide availability of anhydrous ammonia, the acid is now produced by the oxidation of ammonia in apparatus built of high-chromium high-nickel steels. Chromium plating has not been as serviceable in some places as was anticipated, but it does resist rust and corrosion and thus requires less labor for maintenance, polishing, and replacements than most other plated ware or even brass and bronze and is therefore growing in favor as a general structural material. Even replacement work such as re-nickel-plating, which used to enjoy considerable demand, has largely suffered with the advance of chromium-plated and chromium alloy fixtures.

Where these alloys have been found too expensive for some sorts of service, such as for tanks, and where pure nickel affords ample protection, a new nickel-clad steel is offered. Its manufacture is a metallurgical accomplishment of no mean order and the resulting material has the strength of steel, while on the nickel side it offers all the protection of which that element in the pure state is capable. For most practical purposes beryllium is still in the museum, for not only is the price high but the supply is limited. The effort to see what might be done by alloying this element with other metals is, however, an indication of the trend. Those who are interested in it believe that it has a great future. It is being used in some lines, for example, for phonographic needles, but the more practical-minded, while admitting its good qualities, remain skeptical as to an adequate supply. Indium, another of the elements, is also available commercially, but is high in price and limited in application.

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Immediately after the close of the World War there were two plants in the United States capable of manufacturing synthetic camphor, using American turpentine as the raw material. Since the quality of the product and the cost of the process made it impossible to operate in competition with foreign firms, these plants were closed, but during the depression one organization returned to the problem, worked out the kinks, changed the process, improved the quality of the product, rebuilt the plant, and is now in operation.

Another typical trend, the trend from complex to simple treatment, is found in gum inhibitors for cracked gasolines. Success along this line has meant a great reduction in capital investment, a decrease in treating costs, and the conservation of much material lost in previous methods of refining. Cracked gasoline has desirable anti-knock characteristics, but unfortunately forms gum which seriously interferes with its use. Elaborate means for gum removal already had been perfected, but to inhibit gum formation is more direct and less costly.

We have gone a long way in research on foodstuffs. The irradiation which causes certain vitamins like vitamin D to be produced in some types of foods and oils has made available these accessory bodies to a larger number of people in either a more acceptable form or at a lower cost. Research continues with selected bands in the ultra-violet spectrum and it becomes a matter of technical skill and experience to translate what has been found through research into benefits easily acquired by the general public. The quick freezing of foods, originally applied to sea food and now embracing meats and many fruits and vegetables, has helped to eliminate the question of season from food supply and has enabled holding in the fresh state the surpluses as well as the normal production of crops, frozen when at the height of their color and flavor. Like most research of importance, this undertaking has led into unforeseen paths, including the breeding of strawberries which will have characteristics better suiting them to be frozen whole and at any later time served with all the appeal of freshly picked fruit. Instead of merely finding those fruits and vegetables which seem best suited to the quick-freezing process, those interested propose a hybridization and selection which will produce the best possible food for treatment by the quick-freezing method.

Another ramification has been that of research in containers. Both liquids and solids are involved, and since the materials are frozen in

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the packages in which they are marketed, the question of sales appeal in the package itself after processing is no small part of the problem. Some containers involve wax-impregnated paper boards, transparent moisture-proof wrappings, metal foils, and the use of the latest solvents of the organic chemical industry as well as of synthetic plastics. One of the latest is a tin can with a Pyrex glass window top.

The trends in appeals to the ultimate consumer should also be noted. Color, fragrance, the form of the package, and its decoration are all important. Foils of metals, some of them colored by chemical processes, find their place. Odors have come to be identified with certain types of merchandise and perfumes have been used to make others more acceptable. In the latter class are certain types of mechanical rubber so treated as either to neutralize the natural odor of such rubber or to give it a preferred scent.

Cost cutting and the ability to produce profitably on the basis of smaller tonnage are naturally involved in present industrial trends. So much has been accomplished that just a little better business will mean large profits, and in some industries enforced economy has taught so much that even increased production cannot be depended upon to involve large increases in personnel. Small difficulties have also received careful attention. A woolen yarn manufacturer had trouble with a change in the color of his yarns after they had been packed and shipped. Investigation showed that the type of adhesive used to affix a large paper label to the box accounted for the difference in shade of the yarn on the top nearest the label and that on the bottom of the same box. The remedy lay in another kind of adhesive.

The above is but a small part of the interesting story of how chemistry carries on, taking advantage of such help as other sciences offer it and in turn playing the rôle of a science ministrant to sciences. The trend is undoubtedly not only in the direction of adding to our fund of basic truth but in the more and more extensive application of what is learned, to industry, to public health, and to general welfare. If increasing numbers of well trained research workers, a rapidly growing literature, and an abundance of suitable apparatus stand for anything, then we must expect still greater and more significant advances in the immediate future. The most important of these will doubtless result from that intense activity where medicine is in responsible charge and where chemistry lends valuable aid.

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The Churches in Germany

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THE most surprising fact to most moderns is that it is the church in Germany which is offering the most effective resistance to the pretensions of a totalitarian state. Professor Einstein is reported recently to have said that he had long since expected some learned society or some group of scholars to offer united resistance to the claims of the state and that his surprise was great when a church which he regarded as moribund accomplished what science and secular culture were unable to do.

If we seek to discover why the church rather than the university resisted the state we may find resources in religion which have escaped the view of a secularized culture. If the parsons have been more courageous in their attitude toward the state than the scholars, that fact is hardly to be ascribed to a superior personal virtue on the part of the religious as against the learned men nor is it probable that they possess greater endowments in sagacity and political astuteness. The German universities are probably as unsympathetic toward the claims of an absolutized state as are the churches. The differences between the actions of the two lies deeper than in the personal character of any of the leaders. It lies in the fact that the claims of a spurious religion can be met only by another religion. The cool scepticism of the learned man may prompt a negative attitude toward the claims of a racial and national religion; but a negative attitude is powerless if some loyalty and devotion cannot be put into competition with the lesser loyalty and devotion.

The Nazi ideology is clearly a new religion. Perhaps it would be better to say that it represents a very old religion refurbished. It is a kind of totemism. The nation and the race are made the roots of absolute value for the faithful. Hitlerites speak of "mysticism of the blood." Their attitude toward "The Leader" is a religious rather than a purely political one. Obedience to him is enjoined as a religious tenet rather than a counsel of pragmatic politics. The unity and the

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victory of the nation is made a religious absolute. The problems of the world and the complexities of a world civilization, trying desperately to avoid another world war, are forgotten in this devotion. Internationalists, pacifists, and all those whose eyes are on the general problems of world culture and world civilization are regarded as both traitors and apostates. Like all religion, Nazi religion has a jealous God who declares "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me."

From the perspective of world culture this devotion to a partial national value is barbarism; from the perspective of high religion it is paganism. But high religion protests more vehemently and more successfully than world culture.

There are at least two good reasons for this difference. One is that secular culture is too cool and rational to have anything but a sceptical attitude to set against the pretensions of Nazi religion. It might set "truth" against the Nazi lies. But the scepticism of secular culture undermines its own certainties as well as those which it attacks. With Pilate it is forced to confess "What is truth?" There was a time at the beginning of the period of the Enlightenment when secular culture believed in "laws of nature" and "natural rights" and other absolutes which it might have set against a faith such as the Nazis have. But that kind of certainty has been dissipated. It was discovered to be religious rather than honestly naturalistic. The "laws of nature" of the eighteenth century were ultimately recognized to be not laws of nature at all but ideals of the human spirit (of the bourgeois spirit in particular) which were endowed with cosmic and absolute significance. The really sophisticated scientists now know that there are no absolute scientific certainties except mathematical ones. There certainly are no absolute certainties in the field of politics and social life, where everything is viewed from a particular perspective and where the perspective endows facts in history with a meaning which the facts themselves do not reveal. The social scientists in America might possibly offer a stronger resistance to Nazi pretensions than the German scholars have done because they are not as sophisticated as the latter. Their scepticism is not as thoroughgoing and they might possibly imagine themselves in possession of some "ultimate truth" which would nerve them into rebellion against the barbarism of the Nazis.

The second reason why it is religion (either Christian or Marxian)

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which offers resistance to the spurious religion of race and blood is that secular culture is too rationalistic and is thus unable to incite the whole psyche to a great loyalty. Religion is a "totality act." It demands commitment of the will and incites the emotions. It demands that the love for God (or the nation) be given "with all thy heart and with all thy mind and with all thy soul." A purely rational and analytic attitude toward life can corrode ancient loyalties but, of itself, it cannot fill the vacuum which it has created. Some kind of religion always rushes into the vacuum. That is why rational liberalism cannot become the basis of a stable politics. It could become that only in the eighteenth and nineteenth century when an emotional and religious fervor accompanied its discovery of the "laws of nature" which it set against the medieval "laws of God." When it discovered that these laws of nature were really laws of God, i. e. that their claim to ultimate significance could not be maintained in terms of scientific thinking (David Hume), liberalism became completely secularized. The conflict in the modern world is therefore between Christianity, nationalism, and communism—three types of religion. Each of them is devoted to an ultimate value which claims the entire allegiance of its devotees. The communists have a value (the ideal of a classless world) which is in fact more universal than that of the racialists and nationalists. The possession of this universal emboldens them therefore to seek the annihilation of classical religion rather than its prostitution. The Nazis must prostitute religion because their ultimate value of race and blood is too obviously not a universal and they must therefore allow the Christian religion to share the devotion of their devotees. But the Christian religion which they tolerate must be one which affirms that the absolute God has given a particular sanction to their values of "*Volk und Blut.*" The communists are antagonistic to all classical religion not only because they imagine themselves in possession of an absolute value but because they have discovered that classical religion has in fact prostituted the prestige of its absolute to endow the partial values and perspectives of bourgeois life with ultimate significance. Since all institutional religion tends to make the partial values and perspectives of a given society absolute rather than to subject them to the scrutiny of the absolute, this communist protest against religion is valid as far as it goes. It is wrong only in assuming that a proletarian perspective upon life and history is genuinely

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unqualified or that pure religion is incapable of subjecting every relativity of history to the test of a true absolute. In pure religion there is always a testimony like that of Jesus: "Why callest thou me good? No one is good save God."

What is happening in the German church today is a real process of purification. That part of the church which has covertly given the sanction of the ultimate to the partial and relative values has, under the pressure of the crisis, made this covert prostitution overt. Thus the "German Christians" have consciously corrupted the Christian tradition and seek to establish a kind of bastard Christianity in which the paganism of a religion of race and blood is mingled with a religion which seeks the universal and absolute above all particulars. This corruption is under attack from two sides, from that of a purer paganism and a purer Christianity. The purer pagans, men like Dr. Rosenberg (*The Myth of the Twentieth Century*) and Dr. Leers, want to reject Christianity altogether because its tendency toward universalism raises too many doubts about their religion of race and blood. The purer Christians on the other hand reject the compound of the "German Christians" because they regard it as apostasy from the true Christian faith.

It is significant that the stubbornness of the German church in resisting the pretensions of the state has been stiffened to a very great degree by the leadership of the great Swiss theologian, Karl Barth, whose "dialectical theology" insists on the transcendence of God in terms so consistent that the Christian is unable to affirm any historical or political movement as a Christian. Barth claims to be a socialist but insists that his socialism has nothing to do with his Christianity. It merely grows out of common sense convictions on how modern society is to solve its immediate problems. But the creation of a just society has nothing to do with Christianity because the new society of socialist dreams would be, from his perspective, still a society cursed with sin and revealing the relativities of all human achievements. Thus in Barth religious absolutism achieves the same scepticism toward all social achievements and purposes which characterizes secular scepticism. But the scepticism is relieved by a religious attitude of faith and contrition before the "wholly other" God.

It is quite possible that the purification through which the church is going in Germany will give it a new stamina throughout the world

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so that the Christian religion may become again a fortress of man's inner life against the absolutism of any society or state which seeks to identify his loyalty to the absolute with the social values which it has declared to be absolute. If such a new purity and power could be achieved it would ultimately express itself not only in opposition to the fascist state but to the communist state as well. The communist state is obviously a truer universal than the fascist state. It does not set the values of one race or nation against the needs of the world but honestly desires a just and peaceful society for all the world. But this utopianism is the mark at once of its religion and its irreligion. It is religious because it demands a total commitment to a high value. It is irreligious because it imagines that the final ideal can be identified with a particular organization of society and it therefore tempts that society to tyranny and spiritual imperialism. In all pure religion there must be an object of devotion which transcends any partial good which has been achieved in history. If this is not the case the fanaticism of devotees to a particular cause grows intolerable.

In spite of the heroism of the seven thousand ministers who have resisted the fascist state in Germany it is not to be assumed that their victory has been won or that the vitality of the Christian religion has been newly established after generations of servitude to a bourgeois culture and toward national interests. One difficulty is that the German pastors are dogged by inherent defects in the approach of Lutheranism toward political problems. The Lutheran church, in distinction to either Calvinism or Catholicism, has always disavowed any criticism of the state in its own domain. It has leaned, since the day of Luther, very heavily on the assurance of Paul that the state is an "ordinance of God" (*Romans* 13), and has maintained an attitude of pious reverence toward the state even when the latter violated the precepts of Christianity. The state has the purpose of "holding a world of sin in check" and the typical Lutheran is politically too realistic to imagine that this can be done in terms of the ethic of the sermon on the mount. His political realism frequently expresses itself in terms which have striking similarity to the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes. For this reason the Lutheran rebels against the state have not said a word against the anti-semitism of that state. They have implied or even stated explicitly that the state has a perfect right to base its existence upon "blood and race." They have insisted only

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that the state must not dictate such a policy to the church since the church is a universal community of faith in which "there is neither Jew nor Greek."

Neither must it be assumed that the church has any quarrel with the general purposes of fascism. On the whole the very leaders in the fight of the church against the state have declared their acceptance of the fascist state, and sometimes they have even spoken of Hitler's leadership as "God-given." Though their opposition to the state may have political consequences, because it opens a fissure in the ramparts of the totalitarian state, it has no conscious political motives. The German church is after all a middle class institution and the fascist state has grown out of the fears and resentments of the middle classes against both the tories and the radicals. The Lutheran attitude toward politics enables these middle classes to accept fascism politically and to protest against it religiously.

Another weakness of the Lutheran protest lies in the economic dependence of the church upon the state. Church taxes are collected by the state and turned over to the church. The church is not financially autonomous as it is in this country. The system of support is a legacy from the days when the church was really a state church. It is this financial dependence which has momentarily lamed the revolt of the church against the state and may possibly destroy it completely.

The "Pastor's Emergency League," which unites the seven thousand revolting ministers, had the support of the bishops of all the provinces outside Prussia. These bishops defied the decrees of the "Reichsbishop," a puppet of Hitler's who owes his ecclesiastical position to his relation with Hitler. If the southern bishops had maintained their intransigeance nothing would have saved Reichsbishop Mueller. His position would have become wholly untenable. But the cynical Goering knew that all bishops are not the stuff that martyrs are made of. He therefore came to the support of Mueller and threatened to withdraw the tax support from every diocese which did not submit to Mueller's decrees. Goering's cynicism proved justified. The bishops recanted and declared themselves "wholly in accord" with the purposes and policies of Mueller. Though the pastors of the emergency league were stunned by this information they reformed their ranks after a few weeks of watchful waiting. A free synod has been formed in Westphalia and the militant pastors are seeking mem-

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bership in it. There is now a possibility that a free church will be formed and that most of the clergy who object to the Nazification of the church will join it. Though Protestantism has never been a strong international force it is interesting to observe that the chief threat of the free synod to the established church lies in the fact that it will probably be recognized by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of Upsala and probably the Federal Council of Churches in America as the true organized expression of Protestant Christianity in Germany. If this should happen and the official German church should be cut off from all connections with ecumenical Christianity, the leadership of Reichsbishop Mueller would probably be made untenable and there is a possibility that these steps will lead to a complete reformation of the church situation. It is gratifying to note the latent influence of the ecumenical movement within Protestantism and to anticipate the possibility that it has enough power, in spite of all divisions, to defeat the corrupting designs of Nazi fanatics.

The position of Catholicism in Germany is quite different from that of Lutheranism. While the Lutheran church has always disavowed political power and responsibility, the Catholic church has never relinquished its claim of the superiority of its ideals over the policies of states. The Catholic church was a political power in Germany until the advent of Hitler. Its political policies, on the whole along the line of left-wing liberalism, were characterized by remarkable astuteness. Thus Prussia was governed for ten years by a combination of Catholics and socialists. The Center party was the bulwark of Republicanism in Germany because it was the only effective liaison between socialism and bourgeois liberalism. With the advent of Hitler the church sacrificed its political power as a price for the concordat by which Hitler promised the church complete spiritual freedom. But the concordat was only a promise which, Catholics declare, has thus far been honored more in the breach than in the observance. The average Catholic priest is therefore a much more consistant opponent of the fascist state than the Protestant minister. His opposition has been less vocal than that of the Protestants but it will probably be more effective in the end. There are many more Catholic priests in concentration camps than Protestant clergy. Their opposition to fascism is more definitely political, as well as religious.

Of all their opponents Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich is at the

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moment the worst thorn in the side of the Nazis. His position in an international hierarchy endows him with an immunity which no other religious leader possesses. This immunity the Pope has recently strengthened by appointing him papal legate and thus giving him diplomatic status. His arrest would lead to international complications. In spite of that fact it is rumored that Hitler has had to make several personal trips to Munich to prevent his zealous local disciples from casting the cardinal into jail.

German Catholicism is the most enlightened Catholicism in the world; and it adds to its political astuteness and enlightenment the age-old tradition of the church which denies any state the right to make itself absolute. The Catholic church may therefore be counted upon to resist anti-semitism in the state as well as in the church more successfully than Protestantism and to be a more effective bulwark generally against state absolutism.

The opposition to the state of either Catholic or Protestant church represents no immediate peril to the state. It may prevent the state from absolutizing itself completely but it will not lead to a destruction of fascism. But fascism is not as secure as it may seem to be. There are inner contradictions in its own life which may ultimately lead to disaster. If it should be able to establish relative prosperity it may maintain itself for decades. But if it fails in that purpose and if unemployment continues it is fairly certain that its middle class support will cool in its ardor and even its storm troopers will become increasingly restive. The greatest cause of its insecurity lies in the potential radicalism of the very troops by which it has established its dominion.

Whenever the hour of crisis comes both the non-political opposition of the Protestant church and the political opposition of Catholicism may prove to be a deciding factor in the political fortunes of the régime.

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In the Realm of Scholarship

Scholars! March!

SETH WAKEMAN
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THERE is no better way of demonstrating what has taken place in the field of psychology in Germany under the present government than to call attention to the prospectus for the Congress of the German Association for Psychology which was convened in Tübingen on May 22nd. As will be seen in the translation of this prospectus, the former organization of the society, which elected its own officers and determined its future programs, has been entirely abandoned. It has instead adopted the principle of the "*Führer*" (leader), as have many of the scientific societies, and under the guidance of the "*Führer*" is devoting the main part of the program to the consideration of the theme "The Psychology of Social Community Life." Perhaps the best way to understand the transformation which the German Association for Psychology has undergone is to compare this proposed program with the proceedings of the last Congress (the twelfth) which was held in Hamburg in 1931. This program contained a number of general papers devoted to the scientific and systematic problems in psychology and the relation of psychology to philosophy, physiology, theology, the historical sciences, law, psychiatry, and education. A symposium, to which nine members contributed, considered the scientific problems of speech and language both in its normal and abnormal aspects. The greater part of the program was given over to sixty-two individual reports on psychological problems, practically all of them being problems in the field of experimental psychology and showing, in general, the highest type of scientific disinterestedness. A number of summary reports were also given upon other fields of psychology and the greater part of these again were concerned with the progress and the development of experimental psychology.

In considering the prospectus for the meeting of 1934 an entirely new atmosphere and spirit have been introduced. It would appear that the development of psychology as an experimental science is no longer of concern to the Association and that instead it is devoting itself to the consideration of problems that are of greatest concern to the present National Socialist Party. The program can only be understood and interpreted in the light of knowledge of the present political beliefs of the Hitler government. The purely scientific aspects of psychology have

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given way to the new political interests in what might be called the field of applied psychology or the problems of human engineering—in other words, a *nationalistic science.*

The fact that experimental psychology has, from the time of Wundt, developed as a science and that it has come to occupy a high and honorable position is due in no small part to the high scientific level of psychology in Germany. With the transformation now taking place it is impossible to believe that such a standing can long be maintained in Germany. A scientific association which attempts to maintain its scientific character and at the same time debases itself in the furtherance of the ideals of a particular political party cannot retain the respect of the international world. A number of German psychologists are already resigning from the Association, not on account of race or political belief but because they can no longer countenance the degrading of their science. As is pointed out by T. Swann Harding in the current number of this journal, any nationalistic, patriotic, economic or religious belief "is bound to destroy that atmosphere of objectivity and detachment within which alone scientific thought and research can thrive."

Psychology as a branch of the biological sciences is closest to man and was the last to win its freedom from ecclesiastical and other types of control. It is not difficult to see, when one considers the political and social program of the National Socialist Party in Germany, how this science should be among the first to suffer. The declarations of the present political leaders such as that of the Minister of Public Propaganda and Public Enlightment, Goebbels, in his statement that there is "no place in Germany for sterile intellectuality and scientific objectivity" leaves no doubt of this. German psychology in its development and in its high standing has not been sterile but has maintained the high standards of scientific research.

The Weimar constitution of 1919 stated that "Art, science, and instruction in them, are free. The State guarantees their protection and participates in their promotion." This constitution also declared that education shall be carried on "in the spirit of German national character and of international conciliation." Under the Hitler government this doctrine has been wholeheartedly repudiated and has placed questions of race, narrow nationalism, and political belief above the former educational ideals of the German people. Along with the universities and other scientific societies, the German Association for Psychology has now become regimented in the Germany of Hitler.

. . .

Prospectus for the Congress of the German Association for Psychology[1]

Leipzig, The Psychological Institute of the University
December 1933

To the Members of the German Association for Psychology

1) The business meeting of the members took place in Leipzig on

[1] Translated by Seth Wakeman.

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October 18th according to the "*Führerprinzip*" (leadership principle) without voting. The Association will continue to serve its purposes as a scientific association. The decisions concerning the affairs of the Association rest with the committee. On the committee, besides the chairman, are: *Poppelreuter* (Bonn) as Vice-Chairman, *Klemm* (Leipzig) as Secretary, *Ach* (Göttingen), *Handrick* (Berlin), *Jaensch* (Marburg), *Kroh* (Tübingen), *Rieffert* (Berlin).

2) The number of members has decreased from 310 on April 1, 1933 to 293 on January 11, 1934. It is desired to bring about the expansion and strengthening of the Association through the soliciting of new members.

3) The next Congress will meet in 1934 in Tübingen in the week after Whitsunday from the 22d of May (with a social evening) to the 26th of May.

The chief theme of the Congress is according to my proposal

The Psychology of Social Community Life[1]

and is divided into the following groups:

I. *Race, the Spiritual Life,* and the *Social Community*
- Inheritance
- Eugenics
- Social Characterology
- Typical Variabilities of the Social Attitude
- Race and State
- Folklore

II. *Psychology of the Social Community* (Social Theory in the Narrow Sense)
- Facts and Problems of Leadership (Political, Military and in Work Life)
- On the Psychology of the Social Structure (Village, Large and Small City; Community; Class and Status)
- Development of the Community Life in Childhood and Youth

III. *Social Education*
- The Social-Psychological Foundations of the Folk Community
- The Family Life
- The Education of the Home[2]
- (Regional) Feeling
- Education of the Historical Sense and of the State Consciousness
- Speech Education
- Art Education
- Will and Character Building

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At the same time, important and original contributions of different content should not be excluded. They can be brought together after due selection in a fourth group, experimental research, and given in one-half or in a whole day.

Chairman,

F. KRUEGER.

[1] "*Gemeinschaftslebens*" is translated as "Social Community Life." The term carries the meaning of "fellowship" and can only be understood in the light of the peculiar interpretation of the Nazi party. (Translator's note.)

[2] "*Heimat*" is difficult to translate since it attaches a sentimental meaning to the region called "home."

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Learning by Cruising

SYDNEY GREENBIE
President of Traversity and Editor of "Leisure Magazine"

MODERN industry, having burst all geographic boundaries, is doing violence to the education of a world till now mainly agricultural and provincial. Educators advocating super-national education deem themselves in the vanguard, but they are really in the rear-guard of progress, for the educated after all their education find themselves inadequately equipped for work in the modern world. How can they read daily news from China, India, Japan, Russia, South America without wondering where the history and the cultures of these countries are kept in the college concept of a broad education?

Out of a genuine need, therefore, come the floating university and kindred types of student exchanges, international affairs institutes, and travel organizations of an educational nature. But nearly all these undertakings have been extra-curricular, voluntary, and casual in their origins and have come about not as an organized, integral part of modern education but as spontaneous group impulses. They have met with the benign toleration of the pedagogical world but seldom with direct recognition or support either in the way of credits or of institutional blessings.

Spontaneous as these group ventures in world-education have been, they have of necessity been haphazard, superficial, and subject to easy exploitation. The illicit wooing of Alma Mater by Almus Pater of the business world has yielded more than a little profit and adventure. The first Floating University was not the legitimate offspring of the union of education and travel. And since then all sorts of travel groups have dubbed themselves or have been dubbed floating universities. Steamship agencies and tourist organizations have filched the title. Nearly every travel agent selling world cruises inserts somewhere a statement about "faculties" and "courses" offered. The educational department is now a fixture in the business, while everywhere, by offering free trips to professors provided they gather under their leadership the requisite number of students, professors have been converted into travel salesmen.

This has, of course, demoralized the profession. However valuable such excursions may be, a university strictly utilizing all the advantages of travel for education, and not merely carrying a college curriculum around the world on its back, has only once been attempted. The other ventures, whether sponsored by Junior League and débutante teas, by shipping people, ex-governors, retired professors, or college presidents, have not been travel universities so much as universities all at sea.

Universities have, of course, encouraged travel. They have fostered scholarships abroad, however wasteful this may have been. The futility of much of this education has been shown by the effects of the Rhodes Scholarships, the Boxer Indemnity Fund for the education of Chinese in America, and such fly-by-night projects as the Abraham Lincoln University scheme. Still, these plans, along

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with the Smith and the Delaware and other similar projects, meeting a crying need, are better than no attempt whatever.

The fiasco of the first floating university cruise has never been lived down. Grandiose as the attempt was, it displayed the most salient faults in trying to carry a college campus out into the high seas. For even with a ship to itself and a reasonably good library the Floating University carried an altogether too heavy load of requirements from land colleges to function as a travel university. Yet it started without any definite program for utilizing travel as a means to education, and weeks went by before any serious attempt to carry on even the regular college courses was made. Some class work was finally got under weigh but it was soon found that only a few professors and still fewer students had any intention of spoiling a good vacation by study. The majority of the professors had never been to the countries they were about to visit, had none of the technique for world observation requisite for teaching anything about these countries, became bewildered when let loose in a strange port, didn't know how to get at those materials in their own fields which the countries afforded, and regarded time ashore as sightseeing time or free time instead of an opportunity to constitute themselves into the travel university they had set out to be. Finally they became involved in loose gossip and false reports and scandals to the utter demoralization of the enterprise.

There can be no sane or just reason for disturbing college life by putting it on a keel instead of keeping it within bounds on a campus. If all a travel university can be is a group of professors with the same old eagle-eye for credits and examinations and books, confined with a group of students on a ship there to pursue the regular college courses unrelated to the world they peep in on now and then during the day or two in each port, the floating university certainly cannot justify itself. The distractions to such studies are insurmountable, the confinement chafing, the lack of equipment crippling. Furthermore professors, off on sabbatical leave, tied by obligations to their home colleges, looking upon the floating university as merely a private venture to which they do not intend to return a second time, thrown for the first time into daily, domestic intimacy and equality with their students, can have no serious interest in or make any great contribution to the floating university. Specialization, rigid class-room attendance, inability to see anything as educational unless it has been crystalized in the form of a book or lecture, the distrust of the student manifested by a hyper-critical censorship that is neither supervision nor chaperonage, may be necessary evils in the fabric of land college life. But the professor who cannot handle the *living* materials and sources for a study of civilization is an incompetent member of a floating university.

The inexperienced professor tries to teach civilizations as though they were only words. When on his campus he is justified in using books as the only available sources; but most worth while source-books have been compiled by people who have gone out to see civilization for themselves

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and have brought home their findings. To see is the first duty of the student. He has gone abroad to see. The world is thrilling and romantic to him. He asks questions with every turn in the road. To say to the student, "You can't stop for that because we are having a class in something else," is not only to let an opportunity go by for seeing a human phenomenon but to lose also the impulse to education. To demand then that a student "do" a certain number of hours in a special subject willy-nilly is distracting and destructive. No student will yield to such treatment.

But this does not mean that regular class room attendance and a pursuit of regular subjects is impossible. It does mean that there should be coordination and balance between shipboard study and on-shore observation. When I worked out an educational program for the second Floating University that showed classroom attendance both on land and at sea the professor who had accepted the nominal title of Director of Education, himself an extensive traveler and writer of many books, was skeptical. He didn't believe it would work. Our first six weeks at sea, however, between New York and Japan, the ship divided into class-rooms and the portable bookcases and black boards open, converted him. The students settle down to study on board with relief from the boredom of ship life. Even on shore classes may be held on half-schedule periods, in the mornings in the hotels. Sightseeing properly organized along scholastic lines may make up full periods in the afternoons. Or the students may be let loose on special investigations, allowing for general sight-seeing in the process of making them. In this way there is no reason why the student should not make up all his studies steadfastly. And, in spite of all the malicious and exaggerated gossip there is little boy and girl difficulty, at least no more than at any college.

The advantages in this whole plan of study so far off-set the disadvantages that only poverty will ever defer the use of them. But this achievement can only be hoped for if one retains from year to year the same faculty of men and women given over to the plan, able to travel with ease and adaptability, knowing ahead of time what they are going to teach their students in Japan, China, or Germany, as the case may be, knowing where to go and what to see and coordinating field work with reading and discussion without the crippling limitations of credits and habits of teaching. The danger lies in the tendencies of professors to slip back into the dear familiarities. One, teaching economics, neatly relapsed into his happy practice of making assignments of so many questions on his published list; ten ticked off, ten discussed each day. But while he was conducting general discussions in economics no preparation was going on for the immediate country ahead of us. An expert on "Standing Room Only," he gave no indication whatever that we were approaching Japan where there was no longer even standing room left. The cramming of book knowledge was proceeding apace and the faculty was ready to punish half a dozen students for lack of interest in this sort of class-room education by denying them shore-leave in Hawaii. Yet it was

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well-nigh impossible to get the faculty to apply itself to definite preparations for studying conditions in Hawaii, and when I outlined a very simple scheme for the cooperation of the teachers, a pooling of their information in order that the students might learn all they could about the countries from the economic, philosophic, religious, artistic, and geological points of view, I got merely the mild acquiescence of individualists—no practical support.

The nearest that any professor, except in art, history, government, and religions, got to exploiting the possibilities of the world in his field was in quizzing parties. The stunt was to get a few of the native "experts" up before the student group for questioning. Whether those experts were biased partisans, politicians with an eye to creating an effect, or one of the ubiquitous propaganda agencies maintained for the sake of presenting a country favorably before the world didn't seem to matter. The main thing was to get in touch with the "experts" and to "analyse" the "political, social, and economic forces" in the country through these leading experts. Meanwhile the raw materials out of which nations and civilizations, problems and systems of knowledge, arts and enjoyments of living are made, were ignored. Professors of literature had made little or no previous attempt to discover the literatures of the Orient; professors of philosophy still mumbled texts from handbooks used in Middle-Western colleges. The only consideration was to carry on the required studies during class hours and then to run loose on general sight-seeing expeditions, snugly conducted from comfortable busses and all having a good time.

The travel university can avail itself of many advantages denied the stationary institution. Chief among these are the student's interest and curiosity. He is constantly stimulated into seeing, thinking, and checking up on what he has read. If his mentor would forego his own easy routines and think creatively he would find two gains for every single loss. The constant and intimate association with his students would present a challenge to his own thinking, his own false sense of superiority, a call to emerge from his position as dictator into the world of learning as learning was always understood until the evils of European scholasticism took possession of the body of our universities. If he were willing to set aside his departmental prerogatives, join the students in a round-table process of elucidation of world facts as they present themselves, each contributing his store of book-knowledge to the explanation of the whole phenomenon of civilization as they see it from day to day, his position and leadership would prove a fraternity of growth and delight to him. Then would education become a continuous process of liberation.

I believe a travel university can achieve this. As was recently pointed out, the original university in America was "the collection, in a single quarter of a single town, of groups of learned men—experts in the arts of civilization upon which the world's progress in the long run depends. What made the university was the association, the discussions, and the investigations of these men." Such a

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faculty of men who check up on their knowledge as they go around the world would be a demonstration to students of how knowledge is acquired.

All our educators are clamoring for a broader knowledge of the world to the end that purblind nationalism shall give way to intelligent world cooperation. But intelligent seeing is the only basis for such action. The purpose of education was in the beginning the development of the spiritual man; then it became a force for the perfecting of the social or homogeneous man. Now comes the call for the cultivation of the reciprocal or heterogeneous man. A man may not brag of his own virtues because it has been dinned into his ears that pride goeth before a fall, but as a social man be feels free to brag of his nation. Cannot man be taught to take pride in the greatness of other nations as an earnest of the potential greatness of man as man? The end of conflict will come when men will have been taught to take pride in the heterogeneous man as a manifestation of the relation of unity to multiplicity, of God to Man.

Thus the floating university idea comes to us as a challenge to meet the newer requirements in education even as the religious schools and the technical schools came to meet the requirements of the spiritual and the technical world. Bertrand Russell has charged that the lecture method of education is "a survival of the Middle Ages due to the fact that the universities have not yet adapted themselves to the invention of printing." The campus concept of the modern college persists because the universities seem not yet to have discovered rapid transportation. One might as well not use the printing press as not use the steamer, and the time will come when travel-education will no more be the prerogative of the rich alone than all education is any longer the privilege of the wealthy—as it was not so long ago.

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Two Experiments in Education

MORTIMER GRAVES
Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies

It seems worth while to call attention to two interesting experiments in education to be undertaken during the summer of 1934. Both are intended to provide mature scholars with opportunities to acquire information and techniques not normally open to them. The first, the *Summer Seminar in Far Eastern Studies* at the University of California in Berkeley, is a continuation of a similar enterprise carried on at Harvard University in 1932 and described in *Pacific Affairs* for December of that year. Its purpose is to gather together a small group of trained scholars (ordinarily instructors and assistant professors in universities and colleges) who find it necessary or desirable to offer courses on Far Eastern subjects but have had no Far Eastern experience, and guide them in the study of China and Japan for a period of six weeks. The guidance is offered by the best American scholars available—in the case of the Berkeley Seminar, by Arthur W. Hummel of the Library

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of Congress, Clarence C. Hamilton of Oberlin College, Benjamin March of the University of Michigan, Peter A. Boodberg of the University of California, and Miss Florence Walne. No effort is made to develop in this seminar specialists in Far Eastern studies, but simply to provide the scholars in question with some of the tools necessary to improve their teaching of the subject.

No one would contend that Slavic or Far Eastern studies receive adequate attention in American universities and colleges. One reason for this neglect is the alleged linguistic difficulty, usually greatly magnified by Americans. So far as the Russian language is concerned an attempt is being made to reduce this difficulty by providing at the Summer School of Harvard University *courses in the Russian language* designed to meet the needs of mature scholars who want to acquire as quickly as possible a command of it sufficient to enable the use of Russian materials. Intensive instruction will be offered to a specially selected group over a period of twelve weeks beginning June 25th. Professors Samuel H. Cross of Harvard University and George Z. Patrick of the University of California will direct this Seminar, which was first planned by the Institute of Pacific Relations, American Council.

Both experiments are alike in that they are not mere summer courses with unusual subject-matter, but are specifically designed for the purpose of improving instruction in our departments of history, philosophy, fine-arts, economics, political science, etc., by providing some of our teachers with competences they do not now possess. Some day the Far Eastern and Slavic phases of these disciplines will be thoroughly taught by specialists; meanwhile these seminars are an attempt to make the best use of such teaching as there is.

Further information can be had of Mortimer Graves, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

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Ars Islamica

BENJAMIN MARCH
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With the appearance early in February of its first semi-annual issue, *Ars Islamica* assumes a position of importance in the field of Near Eastern scholarship. There has long been a need for a journal especially devoted to the art of Islamic countries. As the editor, Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, has said: "The study of Islamic art is the youngest among academic disciplines. Its systematic research is still in its infancy. Many basic problems of its historical formation and stylistic development are not definitely settled; its literary sources are for the most part unexplored; its social and cultural background, and its relation to the arts of the ancient and medieval East, both Far and Near, have not been satisfactorily expounded. The material itself is not fully investigated." *Ars Islamica* proposes to constitute itself a forum for the reporting of new data and the discussion of research problems.

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The new journal is published jointly by the Research Seminary in Islamic Art of the University of Michigan, and the Detroit Institute of Arts, and Dr. Aga-Oglu, the editor, is associated with both institutions. In 1929 he came from Istanbul to assume the position of Curator of Near Eastern Art in the Detroit museum and in 1933 he became Freer Fellow and Lecturer in Islamic Art in the Division of Fine Arts of the University.

In the organization of the Research Seminary in Islamic Art he has created the first American center for the study of the arts of Muhammadan peoples. Already there are students enrolled from whose ranks the scholars of the future will be recruited. *Ars Islamica* is the journal of the seminary but its scope and interest are truly international. The editor himself took one doctorate in Moscow and a second in Vienna, and his contributions to scholarship have been of major importance.

Articles are accepted in English, French, or German, and are published in the language in which they are written. Each issue is to comprise about eight-five pages of text and twenty of illustrations. The first number includes contributions by such authorities as Strzygowski, Sarre, de Lorey, Sakisian, Kühnel, Denike and Rice; and almost every scholar of note in the field has promised his cooperation.

The subscription price is five dollars per annual volume of two parts. Orders and inquiries may be directed to the Research Seminary in Islamic Art, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Our Foreign Policy and the Public

R. E. WOLSELEY

THE indifference of the American people to the foreign policy of their government has been explained in many ways. The inconsistencies of the policy, the superficialities of the newspapers, the size of the country, and the weakness of the educational system all have been blamed. At the risk of seeming only to add another to the list, I should like to suggest that the state department lacks a publicity expert and an experienced circulation manager. This may sound fantastic and is not to be taken too literally. The state department, however, publishes three periodicals about American foreign affairs which practically no one in the United States reads but which, if available to the general public, would go far toward stimulating public interest in our official relations with other countries. If these three periodicals—*Treaty Information*, *Treaty Series*, and *Press Releases*—could be brought into general circulation, into public and university libraries, and into newspaper offices, there would be greater justification for their publication and greater knowledge upon the part of the public.

As it is, however, during the fiscal year 1932–33, the latest on record, the circulation of *Treaty Information* reached the magnificent figure of 216 copies and *Press Releases*, 426 copies. Only *Treaty Series* begins to have the circulation of a country weekly. During 1932–33 it had 3,662 subscribers. It should be remembered that the

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population of the country exceeds 120,000,000 persons and that the New York *Daily News* alone has a circulation of more than 2,000,000 every day. This is not to imply that the contents of any one of these state department publications is likely ever to interest more than a small proportion of the population, or that they contain the sort of titillating messages that come from Captain Patterson's tabloid. Since, however, a great deal of time, skill, and money is expended in producing these publications in Washington it would be logical that something should be done to have them more widely used.

In 1929 the state department was convinced by a committee of political scientists, jurists, and teachers of law that the public would be interested in knowing from a reliable source what the United States is doing in foreign affairs. This was considered only logical, to quote Professor Kenneth W. Colegrove, of that committee, inasmuch as "few conclusions are more easily capable of demonstration than that the citizens of a democracy should be informed as to the external as well as the internal policies of their government." Accordingly an appropriation was obtained and the state department began once more to publish the annual volume, *Foreign Relations*, printed the first volume of an authoritative collection of all treaties to which this country has been a party, and began the publication of the current material under discussion —the weekly *Press Releases*, the monthly *Treaty Information*, and the irregularly published *Treaty Series*.

Press Releases apparently has little interest for the press, inasmuch as there about 2,000 newspapers in the United States and the circulation of that government publication is 426. But it provides material not included in the "hand-outs" received by the correspondents in Washington when they call on the state department. A recent issue, for example, among its 29 pages of material included a statement by former Ambassador Welles on the Cuban situation, a brief article on intergovernmental debts, another on the Colombia trade agreement, a copy of the statement made by Secretary Hull at the Montevideo conference, a chronicle of the arrival of Ambassador Bullitt in Moscow, and the transcript of an address by Dr. Herbert Feis, economic adviser to the state department. *Treaty Information*, more neglected even than *Press Releases*, is printed monthly. A recent issue of 22 pages carried matter on armament reduction, the Montevideo conference, renunciation and restriction of war, and the Greek-Turko security pact. It generally contains the latest facts regarding the negotiation, signing, and ratification of all treaties in which the government is interested. *Treaty Series* is published as soon as possible after the ratifications of a treaty have been exchanged, and contains the official text. That dated October 26, 1933, for example, is a typical government publication and contains in its 58 pages, copies of the conventions and protocols, in French and English, relating to the narcotic drugs treaty between the United States and other powers. Other recent issues have dealt with air navigation and the demilitarization of Haiti.

It is obvious, of course, that the

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general public is never going to run for the newest copy of *Treaty Information* as it does for the latest *Ballyhoo* or *Collier's*. Yet students of international affairs in local communities as well as in university departments of political science should know about the existence of, and should use, these publications. For the persons interested in such material they can be engrossing reading. In Chicago there is no newspaper disposed to print much accurate news of American foreign policy. There *Press Releases* would be welcome to the serious student of international relations and to the citizen interested in what is going on. Yet very few libraries in that city file any of this material.

The argument that the cost is too great can be advanced only by those libraries whose budgets have been cut to such a point that new purchases are impossible, for the *Treaty Series* documents cost fifty cents each, *Treaty Information* is ten cents a copy or a dollar annually, and *Press Releases* is obtainable at two dollars a year. The cost to the government is great enough, however, to prevent the government's placing these publications on the free list (the notices of judgment of the department of agriculture are free). At that they are sold below cost by the superintendent of documents to make them more readily available.

Up to 1929 this sort of information was not obtainable from the state department, a situation criticized as undemocratic because it left the general public in the dark about American foreign policy except as the public received information through privately owned newspapers and magazines. That objection has been overcome only to reveal another—that the general public either does not care, or does not know that it can obtain information about what its government is doing. If the public does not care it is certainly due to the fact that the public does not know. Not even the majority of the professionally interested know of the existence of the magazines and documents here discussed. If some effort were made to bring them to the attention of all teachers of political science, all editors of newspapers and other publications commenting on international affairs, and all libraries, there would be two salutary results: a more democratic check on the activities of the state department and a wider public understanding of our foreign policy.

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The Challenge of Cancer

CLARENCE C. LITTLE

Head of the Roscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory

DOWN through the centuries cancer has challenged man as a menace to his continued survival and as a riddle that invited the use of his most advanced intellectual imagination in its attempted solution. Not long ago a group of men, on the invitation of the Chemical Foundation, attended a conference on cancer research, the chief impulse activating the gathering being one of cooperation—a need long felt but imperfectly realized in that particular field. The recognition of that need was, in a way, the culmination of a series of unrelated

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events, the unavoidable outcome of the tacit admission that cancer research if properly appreciated and evaluated includes the fruit of investigations by biologists, chemists, physicists, physiologists, pathologists, and clinicians. Not many years ago a person attending a meeting of the Cancer Research Association would have noted that the great majority of papers had solely or chiefly a clinical emphasis and would have observed with interest the ill-disguised scepticism, perhaps even open antagonism, with which such men as Erwin Smith were greeted. Perhaps the picture of that scientist describing in detail the fascinating results of his series of experiments with the crown-gall insect in plants would have seemed to the onlooker an outstanding example of a John the Baptist fired with vision and imagination yet failing to elicit a sympathetic or understanding response.

Today things are very different. The meetings of research workers in the field of cancer abound with scientific communications on subjects as far removed from the old limited approach to the subject as one can well imagine.

The first group of experiments that have contributed notably to our lately increased knowledge of cancer are those which deal with four methods of obtaining for study large amounts of cancer tissue practically at will. These methods may briefly be described as transplantation of cancer tissue, tissue culture, the induction of tumors by experimental agents, and the production of cancer in selected genetic strains of laboratory animals.

The transplantation of tumor tissue dates back to 1890 but found its first real impetus in the work of Jensen in the early 20th century. By transplanting small bits of mouse tumor in animals of that species Jensen obtained evidence that the transplanted tissue frequently grew rapidly and effectively. Again taking bits of these transplanted tumor masses, the process was repeated with similar results. This has been continued until the present time. Thirty or more years after its first implantation Jensen's original tumor is still alive and is being studied in many laboratories. When one realizes that the existence of an individual mouse for more than three years is a scientific curiosity, the immense viability and vigor of the mouse tumor tissue become all the more striking. Similarly many other animal tumors of different types are now being carried on by various investigators. Transplantation is an easy and useful method of supplying large masses of neoplastic tissue.

The process of tissue culture is newer. Developments of the technique of Barrows and of Carrel have enabled investigators to grow tumors from rats, mice, and humans outside of the body on artificial media, thus affording a unique opportunity to study the behavior and nature of the cancer cell freed from the obscuring and complicating factors of the surrounding tissues. There are today moving pictures, taken through a microscope at high magnification, showing cancer cells moving about with great activity. The process of their division has also been many times observed and recorded. Even the details of chromatin distribution during mitosis have been carefully studied

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in cultures of tumor tissue. The considerable difficulty at first encountered in these studies in developing culture media which would support continued growth of human cancer cells has at last been overcome.

The tissue culture and transplantation methods have in common the fact that they deal with the incubation and growth of already existing tumors rather than with the production or inducement of neoplasms *de novo*, but the other two techniques are used chiefly for the latter purpose.

Treatment of the skin or internal organs of laboratory animals with various agents producing chronic irritation has in some cases led to the appearance of tumors. Various types of tar, certain other organic chemical substances, x-rays, radium, ultra-violet rays, and carbon dioxide snow have all been used as carcinogenic agents. Not every animal exposed to the effects of these irritants develops a tumor and not all of those that develop tumors produce malignant growth, for there are constitutional factors influencing the individual animal's response. These factors are, in some cases at least, genetic in nature, and are handed down to successive generations of certain strains, while they appear to be lacking in others.

This brings us to the use of genetically controled strains under the conscious selection of the investigator as a means of supplying large numbers of spontaneous tumors. Tyzzer in this country and Bashford and Murray in England were among the earliest to see the value of this method, now commonly employed on a large scale in several laboratories. It has an outstanding advantage in being perfectly natural and free from all introduced or artificial processes.

The combined results of the four methods of increasing the available tumor supply have been perhaps the largest single factor in increasing our knowledge of cancer during the past two decades.

Another advance that has come recently is a broadening of the realization that there exist fundamental differences between various types of tumors. Not all tumors or even all cancers can be considered as sufficiently similar to allow broad generalizations concerning them. Their incidence is related to age and sex in ways that clearly indicate distinct biological backgrounds for their origin. For example tumors of the female reproductive organs or breast have the high point of their proportionate occurrence at a time of life clearly correlated with cessation or diminution of reproductive activity whereas tumors of the skin increase proportionately with age to the upper limit of life duration. Studies with radium and x-rays have further revealed definite and characteristic differences in radio-sensitivity in tumors of the same tissue but of different types. There are, for instance, two general groups of lip cancers, one very sensitive, the other highly resistant to treatment with radium. These and other differences have definitely impressed research workers with the fact that cancer, as a term, covers a whole group of related but nevertheless distinct conditions.

Recognition of the complexity of the problem may at first seem to be a source of discouragement. Actually,

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however, it is quite the reverse. Separation of types of tumors into biological groups according to their natural history is a step in the simplification of the problem which had become an essential to further progress.

From a clinical point of view the improvements in operative and treatment technique have been legion. The establishment in this country and in Europe of many centers at which hundreds or thousands of cancer patients report each year for diagnosis and treatment has provided the amount of material essential to the development of the highest skill in surgeons, pathologists, and radiologists. Combined with new methods of early diagnosis, such as biopsy and trans-illumination, pathological diagnosis has been greatly improved. Extended and more effective social service in following up the post-treatment history of patients is also giving a steadily increasingly body of knowledge concerning the value and success of various types of therapy. Agencies like the American College of Surgeons and the American Society for the Control of Cancer are at work stimulating interest in the organization of groups of men trained to cooperate in considering each suspected case of cancer from all important angles before attempting its treatment or cure. The recognition by clinicians and by the public that cancer is more than a "one man job" has been invaluable in its effect on research workers in cancer and in undermining the influence of quacks. It is not too much to hope that the future will see a deliberate organization of the facilities for cancer research of a sort leading to a correlation of the efforts of various individuals or laboratories. It would, of course, be shortsighted to confine to too narrow a channel the work of any man or of any group. Unforeseen and unexpected side-problems which may arise in any experiment will always necessitate a liberal and broad treatment of the organization of the field.

Certain principles may, however, be safely relied upon. One of these is the old statement of Galen: "It is in vain to speak of cures, or think of remedies, until the causes of a disease have been traced and considered." This means that animal experimentation must be continued and supported generously. Fundamental work, far removed from human cancer, must be done for years to come. A second principle, recognized officially by the International Conference on Cancer held in 1928 at Lake Mohonk, is the fact that the two major contributing agents in the production of cancer seem to be the constitutional makeup of the individual and the effects of chronic irritation of some type. The natural outcome of this conclusion should be the establishment of laboratories where the biological and physiological constitution of the individuals studied can be carefully and accurately recorded and investigated, for in no other way can the relative importance of the two factors of constitution and irritation be evaluated. A third major principle is contained in the following resolution taken from the published proceedings of that same conference:

Cancer itself is not hereditary, *although a certain predisposition to*

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cancer is apparently transmissible through inheritance.

This clearly indicates the need of knowing the genetic nature of any living material used in experimental cancer research. This in turn necessitates the maintenance and support of institutions which emphasize the genetic approach to the problem and provide controled genetic material for research in cancer. A fourth and final principle is the recognition of the fact that cancer—itself a form of *uncontroled growth of tissue*—*may* arise by a process not unlike somatic mutation within one or more cells. This fact and the obvious close relationship between cancer growth and normal growth make peremptory in any biological studies on cancer, not only studies of neoplastic growth but also continuing and active interest in the investigation of the phenomena of normal growth and its control.

Cancer research is still in its early childhood. We see more clearly the roads over which we may travel—long, complex, and arduous—but as yet the personnel available, the laboratory facilities, and the material support of the program of the biological attack on cancer are sadly and tragically inadequate. If something can be done to correlate and bring into constructive contact those interested in supporting various phases of the cancer research program, the future may prove bright indeed. But because of the point of view of those research workers who think their own specialized approach to the problem the only one deserving of support it will not be easy to accomplish this result. The disintegrating influence of such individuals will be augmented by the efforts of those who feel that they personally can pronounce final judgment on any or all phases of the problems in all types of cancer research. If, however, the workers of these two types would finally adopt a cooperative attitude and agree to consult with their associates both in the field of cancer research and in the basic sciences of physics, chemistry, and biology in its various branches, a valuable program could be developed.

As in most other scientific matters an intelligent, informed, and interested laity can do much to further progress in cancer research. It can consult unprejudiced scientific workers before making much-needed donations to that field. With a view to insuring impersonal and forward-looking plans for the integration of the whole project into a comprehensive and well-balanced program, it can also exert indirect pressure on cancer research workers.

It is easy at a time of economic crisis to underestimate or to neglect the needs of those engaged in patient long-time research on problems that will far outlast temporary and transitory upheavals in the material fortunes of a people. Among such problems, that of cancer research should obtain and maintain a position of prime importance.

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Higher ΦBK Standards

WILLIAM A. SHIMER

PHI BETA KAPPA is considering proposals which look away from expansion and quantity and toward

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quality and the preservation of its original emphasis upon the liberal or cultural motive in scholarship. If the recommendations of the Phi Beta Kappa Senate are adopted by the Triennial Council next September the purpose of the society will become more precisely defined; namely, the encouragement of high scholarship among undergraduates of the better colleges of liberal arts and sciences. It is assumed that the technical and professional motive in education needs no particular encouragement in America. There are good honor societies for these special fields. But if American education needs one thing more than another it is more and wiser attention to the enrichment of life through an understanding and appreciation of the natural and social world in which we live.

Under these proposals the proportion of the class which may be elected to Phi Beta Kappa would be decreased from a possible fourth to a possible tenth of the candidates for liberal bachelor degrees. A student to be eligible would also have to make at least three-fourths of his work genuinely liberal in character. Another provision discourages the election of graduate students. A severe restriction would be put upon the election of honorary and alumni members and such members must have made scholarly contributions to literary, scientific, educational, or social progress.

The use of grades as the sole criteria of scholarship would be abandoned and a correspondingly increased emphasis would be placed upon honors work, comprehensive examinations, breadth of interest, and general promise. Methods are proposed for distinguishing the true scholar from other types of grade getters.

Maximums rather than minimums would be emphasized in the recognition of institutions for chapters. A standing committee of experts makes a continual study of American colleges with a view to recommending those found qualified for new chapters and reporting those found unworthy to retain a chapter already established. In such cases the right to elect members may be suspended or the charter may be withdrawn. Only four institutions are recommended for new chapters this triennium and their character shows that the committee has its attention centered upon the quality of work done in the arts and pure sciences. The procedure is explained by Dr. David A. Robertson in an article entitled "The Search for Values by Phi Beta Kappa" in the *Bulletin* of the Association of American Colleges for March 1934.

As a part of the effort to make Phi Beta Kappa an honor society of the highest possible order, further endowment is sought in order to remove all initiation fees and other charges on students honored for their capacities and attainments and also in order to present the key to them as an award.

Thus Phi Beta Kappa seeks to maintain its original emphasis and to hold to those standards in institutions and scholars which will enable the society to make a significant contribution to the further development of American civilization, and to help the potentially liberal scholar to secure the special opportunities his capacities require.

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A Translation Project

A PROPER appraisal of the contributions of Chinese indigenous and largely independent culture to the literature, history, and experience of the world should be, but is not yet, generally included in the various departments of American Universities. For the orientation of these contributions, selected students must be trained in the languages and literature of the Far East. But serious attention in North America to the documents of the Far East is still young.

Due to the unusual facilities for research afforded by the Gest Chinese Research Library, arrangements are now being concluded for the employment of an appropriation, placed at the disposal of the American Council of Learned Societies, to set up in the Library an experimental project for a critical English translation of selected and important sections of the great Chinese dynastic histories. The Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies (Washington, D. C.) has offered its aid to the McGill University authorities in this project. The Gest Chinese Research Library, housed at McGill University, was founded by Mr. Guion M. Gest who, in conjunction with the University Librarian and the curator of this special library, directs its arrangements. By April 1, 1934 its Chinese-language holdings numbered 130,000 ts'ê (stitched volumes) which, with a growing collection of museum material, are arranged in four principal categories.

The 26 official dynastic histories representing an unparalleled continuity of national activity provide the centre of activity in the proposed Translation Project. Besides the complete palace edition of A. D. 1739 of the then 24 dynastic histories and Ming editions of several of the separate histories, the Library possesses numerous volumes on history and geography in Yüan, Ming, Ch'ing, and modern editions of Chinese standard works. Chinese encyclopedias and collected reprints of earlier writings provide an enormous and thus far little utilized supply of information on historical matters. Among these latter is the *K'ang-hsi* encyclopedia, *T'u shi chi ch'êng*, the library copy of which is an original palace edition, dated A. D. 1726 (the only other complete copy in the Western World is in the British Museum).

In addition to the Chinese language works, books, pamphlets, and periodicals in Western languages (owned both by Mr. Gest and McGill), all other resources of the University Library are available to students working in Far Eastern subjects. In China, Commander I. V. Gillis, resident Collaborator of the Gest Library in the Far East, has established and extended the fieldwork of the Library.

The Translation Project is but the first of what is hoped will be a series of enterprises. They would offer practically virgin fields for research. Endowment funds and fellowships would enable pre-doctoral and doctoral students to come to the Library for projects in various fields of research.

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Discussion

Buried Alive

To the Editor:

I HAVE read with keen interest Professor Wertenbaker's article in the last issue. It seems to me it is a little unfortunate for THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR to leave the implication that all American colleges are doomed "graveyards," at least as far as scholarship goes. If I mistake not a considerable majority of the new members of Phi Beta Kappa come from the colleges, not the universities. I should be very much disturbed about the future of the Fraternity if I believed all that Professor Wertenbaker says. If the colleges are "graveyards" of scholarship how can the Fraternity hope to be significant in the future, if most of its members get their collegiate training there?

It seems to me that the writer misses the point by generalizing too much. What he says in condemnation of colleges is true of a great many; what he says in commendation of universities is true of a great many. There are, however, I feel sure, a number of colleges without graduate departments, fundamentally intellectually more stimulating than a great many universities. If one excepts the half-dozen outstanding universities of the country, I should be willing to match against the remainder a half-dozen great American colleges. I wonder whether the author himself believes that colleges like Haverford, Swarthmore, Amherst and Bowdoin are "graveyards." I would wager that the ablest products of our graduate schools would prefer a position in one of these institutions to a position in any one of hundreds of universities, even though they are "smaller colleges," where they will not find that they have a schedule of eighteen hours (Amherst has a load of about nine hours), as they will find if they go to any one of a great many universities. They will find laboratories excellently equipped (scientists from Yale have commented most favorably on Wesleyan's from the standpoint both of the student and the professor doing research). They will find a library well equipped with opportunities for research and with library funds far in advance of any but twenty-five or thirty universities. They may be given leaves of absence with pay (Wesleyan had four such re-

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cently) to complete their doctorate if they are promising; they may have a grant in aid of their scholarly research (one college expects to have $3,000 to $5,000 available next year for this purpose in a faculty of sixty). I doubt whether they will find, after a few years, that their "spark is gone."

I do not believe for a minute, with the author, that "a graduate school is an indispensable adjunct to every first class American college." This makes Haverford, Bowdoin, Swarthmore, Hamilton, Williams, and Wesleyan "second class." Personally, as a graduate of a university and one fairly intimately in touch with what goes on there, I think these colleges give, by and large, better teaching to their freshmen than do the universities, and do fully as much to encourage their really promising scholars. I do not know of any reasonable request for assistants, apparatus, or books for scholarly research which we have not tried to grant. I know of a great many scholarly researches and discoveries which our professors have made. The American Council of Learned Societies is financing the salary of one of our professors engaged entirely in research. Five members of our faculty now give practically their whole time to research. The first Agricultural Experiment Station in the country was in one of our buildings. The test used for all men trying to qualify for aviation is the work of one of our physiologists. Yet the author says: "The smaller college cannot have any appreciable share in advancing human knowledge or in solving public problems."

I believe that the colleges named have faculties stronger than those of three-fourths of the American universities. Repeatedly the universities try to lure men away from our faculties but usually do not succeed. In spite of many such invitations (within six years one of our men has been invited to be head of the department in three nationally known universities), only two of our professors have left us for positions elsewhere—one to go to Columbia and one to the Institute of Human Research at Yale.

The article refers to the service that Princeton has rendered to the State of New Jersey; I would make the assertion that Bowdoin has done just as much in the last twenty years for Maine.

After all, it seems to me that the writer has made the error of classifying all institutions as universities or colleges and sounding the doom of the latter, academically. If this is really true, the General Education Board wasted its two million dollars to Swarthmore, not to mention many other gifts to outstanding colleges, made with the expectation that they were, and would be, intellectually stimulating places. Frankly, hasn't THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR done the really strong college an unintentional injustice through this article?

If this letter seems in poor taste, please excuse it. We who are trying to keep the college from being a "graveyard" feel just a bit hurt at being interred!

Cordially,

A NEW ENGLAND
COLLEGE PRESIDENT.

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One More Unto the Breach

To the Editor:

PROFESSOR WERTENBAKER'S article contains much that is fine and true. I believe, however, that the author is out of touch with American life generally. The breakdown throughout the world today is not in the field of scholarship or research. Germany has gone to pieces in spite of her universities. The great need in America today is for the development of civilized interests among the masses of the people, and the greatest opportunities for that service will be found in the smaller colleges and communities. I have no fear that any really good man will hide his light under a bushel merely because he doesn't happen to be in a large institution. The problem of finance is not confined to any one type of institution and we shall always have it with us until we are able to arouse among the people generally a higher appreciation of the finer aspects of life. I do not believe we shall do that without attaching a much higher significance to the work of people who are willing to give their lives to the less conspicuous but delightful and worth while business of working in the smaller school.

Sincerely yours,
JOY ELMER MORGAN.

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Journalism in The American Scholar

To the Editor:

THE readers of Dr. Shastid's article, "The Evolution of Eyes," in the October number of this publication would do well not to accept too faithfully all of his statements. Some do not withstand analysis, and it is to be regretted that their inclusion had inevitably the effect of rendering the article more "sensational" and less sound and scholarly than it would have been without them. Besides errors there are many hazardous, but unqualified, statements.

Dr. Shastid states that the purpose of the long vertical pupil of a cat's eye is to assist the cat in "looking up and down trees." As the area of the stop or diaphragm of a lens is diminished the intensity of illumination over the image is diminished, but the *shape* of the stop has practically no effect on the image formed by the lens. One can convince oneself of this with a camera, some card-board, and a pen-knife. Diffraction causes the shape of the stop to have a very small effect upon the sharpness of the image, which is in general sharpest for a stop of given area when the stop is circular. It is thus most doubtful whether the narrow vertical pupil is of any advantage to the cat in looking up and down trees.

It is later asserted that the purpose of "eyes that shine in the dark" is to reflect light back again to the object, where it is joined with the fresh light coming from the object, to reenter the eye, etc. Now even if all the light, coming from the object, that enters the eye is reflected back by it to the object, this light is scattered in so many different directions by the object that only a very small fraction can reenter the eye. Computations (simple, but too lengthy to reproduce here) show that even under the most

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favorable circumstances the effect of this reflection back and forth between eye and object, even an infinite number of times, cannot increase the brightness of the image on the retina by more than a very few per cent. This is true when the animal is very close to the object, and probably the animal would then intercept so much of the light falling on the object as would more than offset even this trivial increase. At distances of several yards or more the effect is completely trivial. An increase in brightness of one or 2 per cent, even if present, would be too little to be noticeable or indeed measurable by anything short of very sensitive physical apparatus; and thus the "spot-light" effect mentioned by Dr. Shastid cannot explain the purpose of shining eyes. What seems more likely is that the light reflected by the reflector gets a second chance to affect the retina, on the way out, after the reflection; that is all. And a reflecting eye has the definite disadvantage that it can reveal the presence of its owner, at night, in circumstances under which the animal would otherwise be concealed.

Dr. Shastid states that only one of a human's two eyes gives, as a rule, details of the external world to the brain. The solid appearance of objects comes from the stereoscopic effect attained by the action of our two eyes which can both regard the same object, but each from a slightly different position. If one closes one eye or covers it this sense of the "solidity" of external objects is lost; and unless *both* eyes influence the brain it is hard to see how objects under ordinary circumstances could have this solid appearance at all. Both eyes must function. The experiment with the ring, referred to by Dr. Shastid, is not relevant. Let a person look at a spot on the wall and then tell him to hold a ring so that he will look through it at the spot. Dr. Shastid says that when then asked to close his eyes alternately, he will be found to be looking through the ring with his right eye when he is right-handed and with his left eye when left-handed. The reader can easily convince himself that there are really *two* positions in which the ring can be seen, by an ordinary person, apparently to surround the spot; and that in one position the right eye, in the other the left, is looking through it. In one position the ring surrounds the line of vision of the right eye, in the other that of the left eye; and the experiment really tests the hands rather than the eyes, since a right-handed person, holding the ring in probably the right *hand*, will presumably tend to bring the ring into one rather than the other line of vision. In any case the habits of one's hands will be involved.

Near the end of the article the author states that two maculae (spots of sharpest vision) can give the owner stereoscopic vision with one eye since they give the owner two pictures, from two different angles, of the same object. This will not do, for *parallax*, upon which stereoscopic vision depends, demands that there be two eyes observing the same object *from two different places*. Without parallax there can be no true stereoscopic vision, whereas an increase in the parallax, by increasing the distance between the eyes, improves the esti-

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mation of distances. The range-finders employed in navies often have their "eyes" twenty feet or more apart to obtain large parallax and accuracy, while our moderately good stereoscopic vision comes from eyes several inches apart. The process of accommodation, or focusing, can yield a rough estimate of distance, but this is not true stereoscopic vision; nor would a moving of the eye from side to side, to and fro, provide yet another way of estimating the distance to an object.

Finally, the following contention is surely based upon a misconception. Dr. Shastid states that the facts "clearly do not support the view" that highly generalized animals undergo evolution more easily than do highly specialized ones and gives as an example the case of the ameba, simple and highly generalized yet not much advanced since original times. The usual claim is that a primitive ameba would be more likely to evolve than a highly specialized organism like a bee. Is there any way of showing that sister-cells of certain remote ancestor-cells of existing amebae have not in fact undergone mutation into organisms quite different from amebae? The claim is merely that an *individual* unspecialized organism is more likely to undergo a useful mutation than an individual specialized organism is, and not that the *unchanged*, unspecialized organisms, the progeny of the "relatives" of the mutant, are then to disappear from the earth.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE EUGENE STERNE.

The Other Side of the Shield

To the Editor:

MR. THEODORE EUGENE STERNE condemns THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR article, "The Evolution of Eyes," as both "Journalistic" and "sensational." He also speaks of what he calls "errors" and "glaring misstatements," and takes up seriatim certain passages.

1. Mr. Sterne says: "Dr. Shastid states that the long vertical pupil of a cat's eye has as its purpose the assisting of the cat in 'looking up and down trees.'" Mr. Sterne then deduces by analogy with a dead camera that the size and shape of the pupil in a living eye have no effect whatever on the latter's field of vision, although he admits that the size of the pupil does affect the illumination of the image (picture of the outer world inside the eye). He concludes, "It is thus most doubtful whether the narrow vertical pupil is of any advantage to the cat in looking up and down trees."

If he really believes that a contraction of the pupil does not diminish the field of vision and a dilatation of the pupil enlarge it he should perform on his own eyes these simple and harmless experiments: First, drop into his eyes a solution of eserin sulphate and then observe that as the pupil in response to the drug contracts, not only does the perceptible illumination of the outer world diminish but also the field of vision (area seen at any given moment). Then let him put into his eyes a solu-

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tion of atropin and observe that as the pupil, in response to the drug dilates, not only does the perceptible illumination of the world increase (even to the point sometimes of dazzling) but the field of vision also. Now the cat's pupil, when contracted, being narrow from side to side and long from above downward, has, as one might put it, an eserin field horizontally and an atropin field from above downwards —just what a cat needs—bright illumination and wide range of vision up and down trees! All the bigger "cats" (lions, etc. whose favorite prey does not as a rule inhabit trees) have round pupils because vertically elongated fields would be of no special use to them. Neither does their prey as a rule inhabit trees. Also the grazing animals (horses, cattle, etc.) have horizontal pupils. This is just what *they* need—increased visual scope from side to side when cropping grass. On fields as controled by pupils Herman von Helmholtz, in his classical *Treatise on Physiological Optics*, Vol. I, page 93, says: "The field of view of a single eye is determined by the diameter of the pupil. . . . There are, of course, individual variations [in the extent of the field] depending on the diameter and position of the pupil."

2. Mr. Sterne: "Dr. Shastid . . . states that the facts 'clearly do not support the view' that highly generalized animals undergo evolution more easily than do highly specialized ones." Mr. Sterne misunderstood the passage. I was discussing the question of whether or not man now is (as has ofttimes been asserted) too highly specialized an animal to undergo further evolution. I wrote: "Many biologists . . . say that man has become so highly specialized an animal that now he can change no further, not even in the slightest respect. . . . Highly generalized animals, they say, undergo evolution very easily, highly specialized animals not at all." Then I added, "And yet the relevant facts, I believe, clearly do not support such a view," i.e. that highly specialized animals do not change at all—not the view "that highly generalized animals undergo evolution more easily than do highly specialized ones." But incidentally I am not of those who even believe that man *is* highly specialized.

3. Mr. Sterne's numerous objections to my treatment of "eyes that shine in the dark" cannot all be answered here. His central difficulty, however, seems to be that "only a very small fraction of any light coming from the object enters the eye, due to the way in which the light spreads out as it leaves the object, and even if all of the light, coming from the object, that entered the eye, were to be reflected back by it to the object, only a very small fraction of *this* light could re-enter the eye because of the spreading." Mr. Sterne's chief error arises from a failure to understand that living eyes, though they do resemble them, are not dead cameras. Quantities of light unimportant in an ordinary camera become extremely important when magnified a hundred thousand times or more. And that is what the living retina, *in effect*, does to light in almost-dark surroundings. Says von Helmholtz in his *Physiological Optics*, 1911, Vol. II, p. 318: "In the dark the eye's sensitiveness to light increases any-

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where from fifty to a hundred and fifty thousand times." And not only is the eye-shining animal, in the dark, rendered, roughly speaking, one hundred thousand times more sensitive to light than it is in the daytime, so that an oft-diffused and much weakened illumination becomes of extremely great value to it, but that same light is absolutely all the light which the human observer himself can ever see when he gazes on "Those wildly flaming orbs." All night-shining eyes, taken into a totally dark apartment, do not shine at all. Such eyes, therefore, in the forest, manufacture no light whatever and all their brilliant forest-shining is merely, as I stated, the result of the reflection and re-reflection of the scanty outdoor night-light.

4. Mr. Sterne attacks the view that the perception of solidity (stereoscopic vision) can occur in one eye when the fellow eye cooperates with it in only a fraction of the fellow eye's field. (His rephrasing of some of the original statements on this head are quite misleading.) I shall later on discuss the possibility of stereoscopic vision in a single eye only—something which includes the present matter. At this point, however, I quote from Dr. Casey A. Wood, Editor of the *American Encyclopedia of Ophthalmology*, a highly authoritative work (Vol. XVI, page 12,250): "With full vision in one eye and vision of 1/10 or even less in the other, binocular depth perception can be normal. Even considerable loss of sight in the better eye need not destroy it. Monocular perception of depth in fact *may be so perfect as to satisfy the demands of any occupation.*" (Italics mine.) Also see Ball's *Modern Ophthalmology*, Vol. II, p. 1353.

5. Mr. Sterne is especially positive that there can be no stereoscopic vision in just one eye, even the eye of a bird with a double macula and an adjustable cornea. Yet it is true that men, after the amputation of an eye, do as a rule, in the one eye remaining, even though that one eye possesses but the solitary macula and a cornea that is not adjustable at all, acquire such vision—children, soon; adults, late. (See *American Encyclopedia of Ophthalmology;* Wurdemann's *Visual Economics* and *Injuries of the Eyes, passim.*) One of the greatest operators on the eyes whom I have ever known had been blinded in one eye in very early childhood. Scores of other one-eyed persons whom I have personally examined have nearly all been plainly stereoscopic, even for distant vision—wherein "accommodation" is not concerned. There are accurate tests for stereoscopic vision (see, for example, the *American Encyclopedia of Ophthalmology, passim*) which make us quite sure.

The facts presented in "The Evolution of Eyes" are "journalistic" only in the sense that they are "news" to many persons, and "sensational" merely because the major truths of science, when freed from confusing technicalities and beclouding masses of detail, outshine and outstartle even the most coruscating and soul-shocking productions of the yellowest novelist.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS HALL SHASTID.

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